

A study of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church from the beginning of World War II until Perestroika, including the influence of Andrei Sheptytsky and Josyf Slipyj on its structure and survival.

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde

der Philosophischen Fakultät

der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität

zu Bonn

vorgelegt von

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Kyiv

Ukraine

Bonn 2021

Gedruckt mit der Genehmigung der Philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen
Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

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Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 13.07.2020

This work is describing one of the most complicated periods in the history of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. The work concentrates on the period between World War II way until Perestroika and the following major changes in the policies of the Soviet Union. 1939-1989 was an era when the UGCC was struggling between the frontlines of World War II and two totalitarian regimes, later it existed during the Cold War. This work is describing the survival of the UGCC under the leadership and legacy of two of its leaders, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and Cardinal Josyf Slipyj. This study also describes the roots and the setting of this church in Eastern Europe, its history before World War II, so the reader can better understand the main concept of this work.

Ця робота описує один із найскладніших періодів в історії Української греко-католицької церкви. Робота зосереджена на періоді від Другої світової війни до Перебудови та наступних основних змін у політиці Радянського Союзу і подальшої легалізації УГКЦ. 1939-1989 роки були епохою, коли УГКЦ знаходилась між величезними фронтами Другої світової війни, та двома тоталітарними режимами, пізніше існувала в часи Холодної Війни. Ця робота описує виживання УГКЦ під керівництвом та спадщиною двох її керівників, митрополита Андрея Шептицького та кардинала Йосифа Сліпого, аналізує їх роль в цьому процесі. Це дослідження також описує коріння та основи цієї церкви у Східній Європі, її історію до Другої світової війни, тому читач може краще зрозуміти основну концепцію і мету даної роботи.

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Introduction

To see the Church from a historical point of view is perhaps one of the most complicated and often difficult to explain tasks in history, many historians, writers and theologians spent their entire lives on studying the matter, but could not grasp all of it. However, it always attracted various scholars to grasp the subject once again to explain it, understand the variety of theological, historical, political, and cultural issues that surrounded different denominations of Christianity all over the world. The aim of this work, which is presented, makes a research on the history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (also known as the Ukrainian Catholic Church or the Uniate Church), its relationship with the state, particularly from the World War II until *Perestroika*, [1939 until 1989] concentrating on the influence of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and Cardinal Josyf Slipyj on its structure [preservation] and survival, when this Church went through its worst period in time.

Technically, the aim is not just telling a story of its theological aspects or history [these issues are also included] in terms of time and place, but to explain the work of two hierarchs of this Church, Andrei Sheptytsky and Josyf Slipyj, how did they influence the people of Ukraine, especially in Galicia (also including the diaspora outside of the given country), and preserved the structure of the UGCC.

Before the research has begun it is important to think if the Church could survive without these two men and the given work is saying that it would not be possible. They have managed to make not just the survival possible, but also did not allow it to cooperate with those regimes, which now we know to be unacceptable and totalitarian that committed numerous gruesome atrocities in Ukraine. In many ways, it is possible to mention that Andrei Sheptytsky did not allow it to participate in those atrocities during the Nazi occupation. Greek-Catholic leadership managed to stay away from the path of Vichy France and A. Sheptytsky did not become the Greek-Catholic Petain and Josyf Slipyj did not turn into second Pierre Laval. The particular scientific task was not noted in other works, which could discuss the history of the UGCC, but did not particularly talk about the significance of these particular two persons in the survival and abstinence from collaboration, which could become a historical stain on the Church's reputation. Collaboration was well known throughout Europe when totalitarian regimes were marching on, unstoppable and uncompromising. Later, such people as Petain were trying to explain it with the reasoning of survival, and protection of their people, it could easily happen to the UGCC, and its higher leaders, but it did not happen, and today this issue gives moral authority to them.

This is the core scientific value, certainly where and in what way this Church was shaped by them, how did they make it survive during the time of persecution, and how influential these two figures were in Ukraine [among common people], and in the diaspora. This issue is clearly analyzed. The especially important part is dedicated to people's mentality in those regions where the *UGCC* was able to take stronger ground [primarily western Ukrainian regions]. This aim goes as far as to discuss the position of the Church, particularly its historical, theological, political, and cultural position in modern Ukraine, and of course Ukrainian diaspora, primarily in Canada and the United States. Moreover, it should be said that

in historical approach such issues as *geopolitics are also mentioned* because this particular religious organization, possibly more than any other Eastern Catholic Church was always standing on the border between East and West, and therefore experienced numerous persecutions.¹ This may be added to the innovative side of this research. Geography and *history* shaped it in the regions right next to or in the exact area of the Carpathian Mountains, the area where this geopolitical, cultural, and confessional split always took place.

They emerged between sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in the context of the Counter-Reformation, in the areas located across the Carpathian Mountains. In an effort to hinder the Reformation, it was proposed that, under certain conditions, these Orthodox dioceses unite with Rome, centuries after the Great Schism of 1054 between Western and Eastern Christianity.²

By considering this geopolitical matter it must be easier to explore and expand the aim of this research, which as it was said above, hides two issues, history of the UGCC, survival itself, and how did Metropolitan Sheptytsky and Cardinal Josyf Slipyj helped to preserve it, and made it to survive – a unique aspect of the work. The series of historical events that surrounded the Church are constantly projected upon the wishes of Ukrainian people, where the UGCC was most powerful to achieve religious influence, local cultural traits connected to Catholicism, and what the Church did in order to influence such wishes.

It uses the following methodology - research and find the material written by other historians, theologians, political writers [without extremist ideas] and journalists, interviews, sources including archival documents, too [the latter is very important] - and make the point or a statement based on this material.

The chosen methodology based on the statement-source method is the best in making an overall analysis of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church's survival process, its involvement in the social issues, and even the political position of its leaders. The storytelling based on the 'chronicle approach', from one period to another, was able to give the sense of a wider picture, who was loyal to whom, what was the exact situation, why this or another event was actually happening etc. One of the most valuable information sources that could be found was the former KGB archive, which is now possessed by the Ukrainian Security Service and is available to anyone, who wishes to study the Soviet period in Ukraine. Reports, letters, directives sent from one Soviet organization to another, interrogation reports that clearly showed who was co-working with the system, and who did not, all of it became literally priceless for this study. Researchers who were dealing with this topic twenty or thirty years ago did not have such a chance because most of the mentioned archival documents were declassified merely a few years ago (as of 2014-15), so this particular study possesses something that was not really discussed in other similar works [identified in the introduction]. For example, in chapter three there was mentioning of Volodymyr Tselevych, one of the political leaders in the pre-World War II western Ukraine [at that time incorporated into the

¹ Paul R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and its Peoples*, (University of Toronto Press, 2010) at p. 399.

²An article by Stéphanie Mahieu, Vlad Naumescu, *Introduction: Churches In-between* edited by Stéphanie Mahieu, Vlad Naumescu, *Churches In-between: Greek Catholic Churches in Postsocialist Europe*, (LIT Verlag Münster, 2008) at p. 1.

Second Polish Republic], after studying the KGB archive it turned out that he was widely reported on the UGCC activity, gave a lot of information to the NKVD [later KGB] and generally speaking collaborated with the Stalinist regime. This fact was not known for decades and only after the official opening of these archives, it became possible to figure this development out. Previously he was seen as someone who defended the Ukrainian cause within the Second Polish Republic, supported the authenticity of the UGCC, and generally was known for his no involvement in any collaboration with any regime which ruled over Ukraine in the twentieth century, however, history portrayed another picture of him. His letter to the NKVD about who was doing what in the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church gave this secret service the first real look into the ecclesiastical organization which was not that well known to them before 1939. Archives turned to be the part of a ‘detective story’ that was opening doors into what many call the truth of history or the reality of the past supported by the documents, signatures, and names. Archival materials usually do not require other resources to support the argument because they possess enough of the first-hand information, which is for the most time cited in other materials produced by various authors. However, they were explained and added with cited material from other authors. Eventually, the argument based on the document may be used by other researchers, and when this study was relating to other opinions, for most of the time they also were grounded on the archives, interviews, or any opinion that could be made from the first-hand source.

Unknown areas within the discussed subject, particularly those that were not discussed by any historian before, are explored too, especially with the archival help. This research includes newly discovered material [archives, which can better explain any argument presented in this work]. Any position is supported by the footnotes, which relate to the source. Write every argument on that researched information following the method mentioned above: statement = prove in another source. The source was found during the research process. Surely, the above-mentioned methodology is successful in the following work.

An interesting author such as Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, who was working as a professor of political science at Carleton University, and as a visiting professor at Harvard and McGill Universities, was prominent for the establishment of the Institute of Soviet and East European Studies at Carleton. His researches on the Eastern European history are cited and also used as the base, and such may include *Ukrainian Churches Under Soviet Rule: Two Case Studies* published by Harvard (1984), or *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939-1950)* published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press (1996). Both describe totalitarian pressure against religion and the UGCC, methods and tricks used by the regime. His works are important to the given presentation for two reasons, first he managed to discuss the whole period of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic underground existence and its relations with the occupying regimes, his works are literally talking about the same time period and discuss the same topic, however, without putting the same aim – he is not concentrating on A. Sheptytsky and J. Slipyj that thoroughly. Paul R. Magocsi is another leading professional in this area of studies, he is a political science and history professor at the University of Toronto as well as the chairman of Ukrainian Studies in the latter school. His academic list includes more than six hundred works and up to thirty books, which include *A History of Ukraine*

(1996), *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide*,³ *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and their Descendants in North America*⁴, and another joint work with C.M. Hann (Director of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle) called *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, were many good authors such as Harald H. Jepsen have been published, for example, latter's article, *Orthodoxy and Autocephaly in Galicia*, in which he shows religious issues in Volhynia region; it is noted in the work. All three above mentioned scholars are extremely helpful to this presentation when it comes to the discussion of the pre-XX century history of the UGCC, the land, the position of Galicia and Volhynia. One of the experts and professionals on the issue is a well-known Canadian-Ukrainian historian John-Paul Himka, and his works are used to see the historical setting of the UGCC, too. He is very good at seeing the whole geographic perspective upon which the Greek-Catholic culture was standing, mostly he is concentrating on Galicia. He is working at the University of Alberta in Edmonton as a Professor of East European History, and is known for such works as *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867-1900*, (1999), an article *The Greek Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Nation in Galicia* (1993)⁵, both describe events in the Galician region during the 'national awakening' in Europe, and how it shaped local political map, consequently, the Greek-Catholic Church was part of it. For example, one of his latest books *Last Judgement Iconography in the Carpathians* published by the University of Toronto Press in 2009 explains an importance of culture in the existence of a common person, he describes the uniqueness of local Carpatho-Ukrainian or Ruthenian iconography projected upon local population, and the way it was imagined by them. Particular aspects of iconography make him very important to this work, especially when discussing how important cultural issues could be to the local population, and how significant the factor of iconography was to Ruthenians. His experience and knowledge on the matter is certainly very important, particularly in understanding events prior to the XX century. Cultural understanding of the given setting is important. Authors and scholars such as Sabrina Petra Ramet, an author of the *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union*⁶, makes good clearances on the legal system of the Soviet Union, where it touched religion. She was discussing aspects of how the system of anti-religious authority was pressuring religious institutions in the USSR, its absolutely important for the work. Practically, the whole work is revolving around the legal system of the Soviet Union and its functioning. Mylena Rudnytska, *Western Ukraine under Bolsheviks*, in many ways very emotional work describing many very unpleasant atrocities. Her work is important for the given presentation to show why neither A. Sheptytsky or J. Slipyj wanted or could participate in the governmental actions. Giovanni Choma [or Ivan Choma] in his work *Josyf Slipyj. Padre e confessor della Chiesa Ucraina Martire*,⁷ talks about the martyrdom of the Church and Josyf Slipyj, a very ecclesiological work showing strongly Catholic orientation of the Metropolitan and his loyalty. His work is significant to this study, so it shows the particular faith and loyalty of the J. Slipyj and helps to explain how and why he was so reluctant to give

³*Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide*, (University of Toronto Press, 1983)

⁴ *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and their Descendants in North America*, (Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2005)

⁵ Center for Russian & East European Studies, (University of Pittsburgh, 1993)

⁶ *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005)

⁷ Citta di Castello, (1990)

up his position as the head of the UGCC. Kurt Lewin, and author of Archbishop Andreas Sheptytsky and the Jewish Community in Galicia during the Second World War, where he gave a positive view of the Metropolitan Sheptytsky's contribution and activities during the Nazi occupation. The work is discussing his role in helping Jews and this aspect of his life was specifically important in chapter 4., it opened new realities of his actions during that occupation. Norman Davies is best known for his history of Poland, and therefore, touches Ukraine and its history from different angles, his presence in the work will help to understand the Ukrainian history. This historian is not just setting up the example of how history should be written, but explains the concept of Ukrainian-Polish relations through centuries; his base is grounded in the region, and particularly benefited the knowledge of the author of this work, it gave a better and clearer picture. His *Europe: A History and Europe at War 1939-1945* are huge works that often become something as an atlas for any historian, who is interested to understand anything about European history and particularly World War II. He can help to draw something as the roadmap of the European historical events as a whole. He touches the region and had benefited the purpose of the whole historical setting of the work by the time it was written.

So far all these researchers were getting very close to discussing matters of the UGCC and their two most prominent leaders, which are at the center of this work, therefore, their historical studies were included along the research process. In other words, all the mentioned above scholars and archival materials are incorporated in the following work. They should help to orientate in the field of history, describe the situation of UGCC, its relations with other Churches, and political authorities. The main question of the work is constantly researched, and the above-mentioned authors are assisting in accomplishing this aim. Survival of the Church during the period between 1939 to 1989, and how did Sheptytsky and Slipyj have influenced its survival, preservation, and structure. The unique part of their lives and careers were not discussed in this context [survival of the UGCC] by other researchers.

Other related authors were incorporated under the 'cap' of authoritative or famous writers on Ukrainian history such as Orest Subtelny⁸. He is considered to be the most well-known researcher, who wrote the complete history of Ukraine. Subtelny is a Canadian-Ukrainian professor, who received Ph.D. from Harvard in 1973 and for many decades worked at the York University in Toronto as an expert in history and political science. His *Ukraine: A History* (1988) is probably the most famous one and is used as a textbook in many schools in today's Ukraine. His authority in Ukrainian history is probably the most famous after Mykhailo Hrushevsky, but the latter is not thoroughly studied in this work. He was important in understanding the significance of the developments that took place in Ukraine during the XVIII century and how the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox laity lived at that time. *The Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century* (1981) gave him the first scholastic fame, and *The Domination of Eastern Europe, Foreign Absolutism and Native Nobilities* (1986) truly explores the subject of the local aristocracy/elites that began to form their thoughts in favor of autonomy/separatism. Subtelny is important to support statements in the first article [before 1939]. Borys Gudziak is another Ukrainian historian whose book *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union*

⁸ The most famous Canadian-Ukrainian historian in the country of his ancestral origin.

of *Brest* (Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, 2001)⁹ is mentioned in the review by Alexander Baran and assist to understand the UGCC standing in the historical context. The significance of his knowledge of the relations between the Orthodox and Catholics [of both Rites] is important to the given study. Particularly he benefited it by showing certain details of the Union of Brest. His critical view on the fact that the UGCC came out of the crisis by opening this topic from an interesting angle, and shows the process of struggle in Ukrainian society right from the Union of Brest (1596) and definitely within the Ukrainian clergy, which tried to find the way between two ‘cultural channels’ of the Orthodoxy, traditional to the lands of Ukraine and Roman Catholicism that came from the Polish state. It benefited the historical aspect of the work. Each of the above-mentioned authors wrote more books and researches including way more articles or monograms that are studied later on. The additional list of authors that is used includes such historians as Serhii Plokyh, Francis Dvornik, William Risch, Tarik Amar, Bohdan Bociurkiw, the latter was specializing in the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church particularly during its Soviet underground period. Distinctiveness with Bociurkiw is focused on the role of A. Sheptytsky and J. Slipyj, this work put them at the center of discussion. Serhii Plokyh benefited the work by showing the difference and similarity between Rus and Ukraine in terms of the co-existence of these two terms, how they are related to each other. The difference with his position is that he was not concentrating merely on UGCC and its leadership. William Risch and his work the *Ukrainian West* is a good hint on Lviv and its people during the Soviet period, in this book he had explained numerous details, which help to understand the onset of the thoroughly discussed region. Distinctiveness is based on the fact that this work also mentions other bordering regions and not only the West of Ukraine. Tarik Cyril Amar is also describing the region of Galicia and Lviv in his work *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists*¹⁰ in this book he also discusses the borderland area, and Lviv in the center of it; so because the work is centered upon this area, it helped the work itself, and portray all the forces of the twentieth century, which tried to shape Eastern Europe are well described in this work by Tarik Amar. Francis Dvornik is a good specialist in Eastern European history too, and a good analyst. His *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* gives a good understanding of the region, historical aspects of how different and complicated [interconnected] the Slavic nations are and helps to understand them. In contrast to this work, he did not concentrate on the UGCC and its origins. This work does and becomes unique when implements the history of this Church into the Slavic fabric of history starting with the origin of Christianity in the region. He is good to understand the history of UGCC before 1939. Serhii Plokyh is well known for his *Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus*, his work is also mentioned in the first chapter to clarify the origin of the UGCC and modern Ukraine. For example, how come Rus became Ukraine, the one usually seriously complicated issue. In that work, he thoroughly talks about these origins and tried to clarify probably the most complicated issue, which still exists between Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. Norman Friedman in his *The Fifty-Year War: Conflict and Strategy in the Cold War* analyzed the whole history of the Cold

⁹ or check out the Review by: Alexander Baran, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (Summer, 2000), pp. 449-450

¹⁰ Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists*, (Cornell University Press, 2015).

War, explains its aspects, and insists on the fact that Gorbachev had never understood that the system, he was put in charge of, never stood or was backed up by the people's wishes, but primarily by force. Friedman has particularly helped to understand the aspects of legalization of the UGCC; the last period which is discussed in the given study. A good source of understanding the nature of the Cold War. Practically, all the authors and researchers are equally important to make this work done.

Clear aim and the question of the given study is based on the methodology of the statement and prove without deviating away from this principle. Clarity and understanding of the underground existence of the UGCC and its relations with the state [Nazi occupation government and the Soviet government until 1989] and the leadership of two of its Metropolitans is analyzed step by step with supporting every statement.

It may also be mentioned that this study is innovative and should be interesting to read. It is seriously interesting to show how one governmental officer was writing to another, and what they have thought about the UGCC and its friends. Who was the informer at the time when it was not known to most people?

Its major scientific innovation lays in the use of previously hidden KGB archival material that was not published before, neither by any governmental body nor by private persons. The insight and idea behind publishing these materials is not just to for the sake of publishing them and be first in doing it, but to expose the Soviet system in its activities during its most totalitarian period. Powerful insight for the work stands on the original content located in these materials because it shows the truth about the systematic crimes and moral fallacy of the totalitarian government. The insight is to show the inner mechanism [instruments] of that system and its operational capabilities, which were used to suppress the freedom of conscience.

Josyf Slipyj is crucially important for the second half of the twentieth century, his position was split between East and West, first when he was leading the underground UGCC in the USSR, and later in the West, when he lived as the head of the UGCC in exile [diaspora period]. His figure is the key personality in this research, alongside with A. Sheptytsky, and subsequently, their influence on the survival of the Church structure is proved to be very important. Analyzing newly uncovered and published former KGB archival materials, also play a crucial role in doing this research on the UGCC, its revival, inner life of the Church, and its struggle with the Soviet government and NKVD/KGB itself. These materials show the inside of the system. Something that the Soviet government wanted to hide, what it was doing against its opponents, something that was unreachable before, due to the secret nature of the materials. The work is not based on the Soviet opinion about the UGCC, but on what the system has done. Technically, these archival materials show the crimes of the NKVD/KGB and the Soviet government.

The question may arise on the authenticity of these sources. Often researchers are faced with literally authenticating documents, distinguishing them from the fake ones may be a difficult task. However, in the case of this research, all the documents are real. They can be trusted as the officially approved archival documents, guaranteed by the Government of Ukraine, which is internationally recognized. The archive is in Ukraine, the city of Kyiv, Zolotovoritska St., 7, 01601 – the State Security Service of Ukraine. Every document is numbered, filed, and properly archived, each document mentioned in the work can be found and authenticated at the given location. These archives were not widely used by other authors,

so far because an allowance to access them is very new, and most of them were not translated yet, thus, personal translations were made during the further research. This part is innovative. Possibly without these newly opened archival materials, the whole work would not be possible to complete at all.

State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine [before 1992 known as the KGB Archives-similar to those now available in Germany as 'Stasi Archives'] is the most innovative and influential source of this study. These materials are cited, translated, and generally used throughout the research study. They include interrogation protocols, operative notifications, reports, letters from one official to another, and telegrams.

An introduction of this material makes this work innovative, different from anyone else. It shed light upon the real, intricate fabric of the system, which was standing on the way of personal freedoms, and any other institution that did not associate itself with the official ideology. There were many works written on the history of UGCC, however, merely this work sets up the goal of explaining how this Church organization managed to survive under the leadership of A. Sheptytsky and J. Slipyj. In contrast, Orthodox Churches split in diaspora and in Ukraine, thus, by 1989 it did not have similar unifying authority that could be represented by similar hierarchs.

Additionally, one of the tools to do so is to make interviews with people [certainly including the UGCC clergy], which can say something new about their biographies and just general personal knowledge related to the topic. Today there are still some UGCC clerics, who may recall their personal memories of Cardinal Josyf Slipyj and other prominent leaders of the Church. The special area of interest includes their personal struggles during the period of repressions or their experience outside of Ukraine. Technically, how their clerical positions were able to survive, and later helped to enhance the Ukrainian Catholic Church and culture surrounding it, particularly how it preserved itself with the help of the leadership of the mentioned two clergymen and those who were around them to assist.

The scientific value of the given work is to show how did these two personalities, very different from each other, but who were united by the same religious organization, managed to preserve the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine. The purpose is to show these people in the role of keepers of the Church.

Additionally, it may be especially important to describe methodology and sources more thoroughly. (1) Particular places (churches), libraries from where all the necessary information shall arrive - New York Public Library, Central Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Library of the Ukrainian Catholic University, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv State University Library, the State Security Archive in Kyiv, State Archive of the Lviv Region, Central State Historical Archive of the Supreme Government and Management of Ukraine. To be exact this research project is fully global and certainly is not connected to one designated place. (a) It will include ordering of *books/articles/ and photographs* from all over the world where Ukrainian Greek Catholics live right now or used to present themselves for some period [above all it will incorporate Ukraine]. (b) Establishment of personal connections (primarily through email, letters, short-time visits) with current authors, who specialize in the Eastern Catholicism/theology and Eastern European history *Magazines and articles [from the old newspapers] will also be used as the source of interviews.*

Materials were taken from the Ukrainian Catholic University Library [Lviv]. Above all,

this institution was founded by the UGCC Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky in the form of Theological Academy, and later preserved by Metropolitan, Cardinal Josyf Slipyj in diaspora, both leaders of the UGCC are thoroughly discussed in the following research as part of the main question - how did they influence the survival of the UGCC.

Before 1939: Origins

This chapter explains where this Church came from. It's historical and social setting. Geopolitical importance of Ukraine and where did the Greek-Catholics stand in this context.

I

Rus [Ruthenian] Period

Often many topics and themes such as the one that will be analyzed in this work have numerous layers of history in them, in other words, it is important to tell how the discussed subject came to be in the first place. The same should appear in this case, too, the foretelling of the prehistory of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, its origins and, the base on which it was always standing. First, it must be said that the focus of the whole thesis centers upon the time period from 1939 including everything that followed for the next five decades, however, this chapter shall describe in detail what the UGCC went through since its official year of origination, 1596. Try to answer the question of what made this Church, including theological, political, and social factors. The geopolitical spectrum which is very important when discussing the origination of the UGCC (and in its later years) will also not be left out from the given analysis. The unique geographical position of Ukraine, its strives to create an autonomy (equally political and religious) in the light of the struggle between East and West, all shaped the formation of the Greek-Catholicism in Ukraine.¹¹ Major powers in the face of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Russia (Moscovy-prior to Peter the I), which surrounded the lands of today's Ukraine had two polar differences by representing the two largest Christian denominations that opposed each other since 1054 (Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy).¹² This must be viewed as the cornerstone factor behind later developments that will be analyzed. Phenomenon of the cultural diffusion may be seen as the driving force that shaped the land between Eastern Galicia (western Ukraine) and today's Russian south-western border. The history of the UGCC simply cannot be separated from the political history of the region when the Kyivan Rus state accepted an Eastern Orthodox version of Christianity in 988 from the hands of the Byzantines. Proto-Ukrainian formation of *Rus'* with the political,

¹¹ Colloquium Internationale de Communibus Radicibus Christianis Nationum Europaeorum (1981 : Vaticano (Città del), Città del) Pontificia Universitas Lateranensis (Vaticano, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski (Lublin), *The common Christian roots of the European nations : an International colloquium in the Vatican* (Le Monnier, 1982) at p. 1202.

¹² Mikhail S. Blinnikov, *A Geography of Russia and Its Neighbors* (Guilford Press, 2011) at p. 213.

cultural, and economic center in Kyiv (Kiev) turned to be the strongest outfit for the Orthodox Christianity in Eastern Europe forming its cultural entity, political/religious standing, and certainly future opposition to the Western Slavic country of Poland, which almost at the same time accepted Roman Catholicism (966) as the state religion.¹³ Certainly, such denominational/political dispositions and choices of the X century did not create or even originate the real future structure of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church but formed the ground on which further historical processes took place. This is the most important moment in the history of Kyivan Rus, and possibly the whole of Eastern Europe, a historical choice that echoes over literally everything that happened since then until today. Later emergence of the UGCC at the end of the sixteenth century takes basic roots in the tenth century and cannot be separated from it. This nuance gives the foundation for all the specters upon which the rest of the work will be based, and this important historical factor includes theology, politics, geopolitical disposition, and ethnolinguistic factors.

The state of Kyivan Rus' was formed by nine major East Slavic tribes [and Finnic groups, especially *Merians* in the North East of the Rus' territory) united under the *Rus' -Varangian [Scandinavian origin]* rulers during the IX-X centuries.¹⁴ In the center of Kyiv (Kiev) it relatively controlled territories between Bug river in the West, North Eastern Baltic, Northern Dniester river basin, and stretched as far as to the East European Upland. A word *relatively* stands for the fact that the political center in Kyiv was not totally in control of the local tribal life (particularly along the loose borders) but most likely formed some sort of a confederation based on the military force represented by the *Varangians-Rus'* and their first most notable leader Oleh or Helgi.¹⁵ Territories that were controlled by the *Rus'* from their base in Kyiv could also reach as far south as the Black Sea and the Dnipro river Delta because their appearance in the area described above meant the beginning of the trade route, which went from Scandinavia to the Byzantium. This short description of the origins of the *Kyivan Rus'* (the name was most likely acquired from the *Scandinavian/Varangian* military settlers) is important because it shows a better picture of the ethnic/political roots of the people that will be discussed all throughout the whole work. Particularly this historical 'mapping' of the original Ukrainian lands [future South West of the *Rus'*] will help to understand the general structure of alliances, denominational and cultural borders.

Economic and political relations between emerging *Rus'* state and Byzantium gave rise to the entrance of Christianity into Eastern Europe. The factor of cultural diffusion between semi-tribal political entity and far more advanced Empire, the center of Eastern Orthodoxy, made *Rus'* political leaders and warring chiefs individually accept Christianity as their personal religion, but first without any attempts to baptize the whole realm (as was done by Olga, the regent to her son prince Svyatoslav of Kyiv in 957).¹⁶ Byzantines on the other hand hoped to stretch their influence further north by spreading Christianity along with the trade agreements

¹³ Sabrina P. Ramet, *Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies*, an article by Vincent C. Chrypinski, *The Catholic Church in Poland 1944-1989*, (Duke University Press, 1990) at p. 117.

¹⁴ Paul R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (University of Toronto Press, 1996) at pp. 61-62.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, at p. 62.

¹⁶ Richard A. Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism To Christianity* (University of California Press, 1999) at p. 384.

and political alliances. Thus, after 860 when Rus princes/military leaders of Kyiv Askold and Dir have attacked Constantinople, Byzantines decided to enhance their proselytic activities upon Khazars [their traditional allies in the North Caspian region], in particular Constantine and Methodius' mission of 860-861.¹⁷ Later Askold and Dir sent their emissaries to Byzantines for the strengthening of ties; eventually, their embassy was baptized, well along the 860s Byzantine representatives have established a Christian mission in Kyiv, and in 874 the Constantinople directed it's archbishop to Tmutorokan' [a town on the present-day Taman' Peninsula on the Black Sea; it remained under the strong influence of Rus' and was used as the trade center with Byzantines and many others].¹⁸ The first real connection to the Christian world was established. Princess or regent Olha, which was mentioned above, tried to bring together various tribes subjected to her rule by converting the whole realm into this new religion, however, it did not work, and it's important to mention her son Svyatoslav, who was afraid to lose the respect of his fellow warriors if he accepted a religion of the Byzantines [he believed it was for those who are weak].¹⁹ When Svyatoslav ruled after Olha's death, he never considered Christianity and the country associated with it [Byzantine Empire] as something worthy of any respect, the latter was one of his worst enemies, the land of those who sought to dominate Rus' through foreign missionaries, monasteries or political agents. His invasion and total destruction of Khazaria in the late 960s spread the power of Rus' eastward, somewhat natural for the growing state, but also it may be theorized that an invasion was pointed against the Byzantine interests due to Khazarian good relations with Constantinople at some point.²⁰ Eventually, Svyatoslav fell a victim to the war between his realm and the Byzantines (972) because he refused to leave Bulgaria, which he invaded at the request of the Byzantine emperor a few years earlier.²¹ Relations with the Christian world in the face of the Byzantine Empire were complicated, not really holding any constant friendship or war, thus, an example of when Svyatoslav agreed to help Constantinople in Bulgaria, but later did not keep his promise. At the same time, trade got complicated, but through permanent political contacts it continued, and certainly it may be supposed that further elements of Christianity could take more standing in Rus' and particularly in Kyiv. Moreover, Svyatoslav's mother, princess-regent Olha (sometimes referred to as Helga if her Scandinavian descent is taken into account) was staying in Kyiv for most of his reign, so even if the ruling prince did not take her conversion with any serious respect, he definitely could not violate the presence of Christians in his country. In other words, it means that Christianity continued to evolve, and most of all remained to be the religion of an influential empire next door, the state which was spreading much superior culture, plus gave an illustration of how the unified religious concept can hold the realm together. It could not go unnoticed by the next ruler of Rus', prince Volodymyr (or Vladimir)

¹⁷ Jana K. Schulman, *The Rise of the Medieval World, 500-1300: A Biographical Dictionary* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002) at p. 116.

¹⁸ Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, p. 62.

¹⁹ Thomas J. Craughwell, *How the Barbarian Invasions Shaped the Modern World* (Fair Winds Press, 2008) at p. 247.

²⁰ Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai, András Róna-Tas, *The World of the Khazars: New Perspectives*, Part 8, Volume 17, an article by Peter B. Golden, *The Conversion of Khazars to Judaism*, (BRILL, 2007) at p. 161.

²¹ Colin Wells, *Sailing From Byzantium* (Random House Publishing Group, 2008) at pp. 230-231.

of Kyiv, who began to consider the religious factor as the unifying force with much attention, which eventually led to the total Christianization of the whole country.

II

Baptism of Rus – Byzantian Influence

In 980 Volodymyr began to consider reforming the norms of paganism that were not regulated with this sort of vigor by his predecessors. For example, he decided to establish the ‘pantheon of gods’ with the god of war on the top of all - *Perun*.²² It symbolically reflected the war-like position of the Kyivan Rus’ elites and pointed at the ruler himself - prince the warrior as the leader of a more unified realm. He understood very well that the system which existed in the Byzantine Empire was quite effective in terms of the ‘vertical of power’, and the role of Bishops, Archbishops, and Metropolitan serving the state and the emperor was as an ideological cement. A few more words should be said about the Byzantine Orthodoxy, and in particular its incorporation into the state, clearly how it was working as an instrument of bureaucracy and ideology.

The worship of the church of Hagia Sophia demonstrated the wealth, the artistic and architectural brilliance, the size and scale of the Empire, and the centrality of faith and worship.²³

This wide picture of the state religion supported by the cultural advancement was seen by the envoys of Volodymyr I of Kyiv when they have arrived at Constantinople and later transferred him everything that was seen, and particularly what was worthy of telling because it seems that their mission was most likely of religious importance. Additionally, the University in Constantinople was consisting of more than thirty professors, pointing at another advanced side of the country Rus’ was dealing with at that time.²⁴ The prince was planning to accept Christianity, however, needed more evidence of its uniqueness in comparison to other religious systems. Before that, he was prosecuting and forbidding Abrahamic religions in his realm, but eventually decided to turn his eyes upon them, and in the end, decided to accept the Christian religion.²⁵ First, it was not fully accepted by his people, technically the process of baptism itself was possible only in the large towns, and practically Volodymyr’s change of course must be seen through the lens of *tour de force* upon his subjects. Naturally, the vast majority of the population simply could not agree that their ancestral gods, customs, and beliefs were now under prohibition from their sovereign, who just eight years before that was insisting on reforming of their traditional religion and seemed to be its protector. Later on, it will develop

²² Martin Carver, *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, an article by Przemyslaw Urbanczyk, *The Politics of Conversion in North Central Europe* (Boydell Press, 2005) at p. 22.

²³ John Binns, *An Introduction to the Christian Orthodox Churches* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) at p. 6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁵ Garry J. Moes, *Streams of Civilization: Cultures in Conflict Since The Reformation Until The Third Millennium After Christ* (Christian Liberty Press, 2007).

into some form of blend between two religious' systems, however, this issue is not the subject of this discussion. It may be peculiar how did the people of Kyiv looked at being taken to the Dnipro river (possibly not without some sort of pressure against them) to go through a ceremony that they did not fully understand, plus it had to be associated with the destruction of their traditional places of worship. *The Chronicle of Bygone Years* written by the infamous Nestor the Chronicler is saying that the baptism was surrounded by cheers and joy, however, it is seen with a lot of skepticism today, and the spectacle of fear is viewed with a much bigger certainty.²⁶ This is important to understand how the Orthodox faith, Byzantine [Eastern] Rite began to take hold over the Rus', how quickly and strongly it became the new spiritual *mother tongue* for the people who lived on the territories of modern Ukraine. This is certain that it eventually turned to be a matter of great importance to defend Orthodoxy against any other attempt to erase it, change its doctrines or subjugate it to a foreign rule. Political aspects of the acceptance of the new religion did not spoil the general view on it. The fact is that in exchange for the military help against Bardas Phokas [the rebellion which threatened the Macedonian dynasty of Basil II] and personal baptism [eventually led to the Christianization of the whole country], Volodymyr was offered to marry the Byzantine princess Anna.²⁷ People from later generations saw Orthodox Christianity as a supporting column of their spiritual life, and the details of how complicated the original process of amalgamation with their original religious worldview actually was, could be well forgotten. Moreover, originally only large towns were accepting [or were forced to accept] this new religion, rural areas and regions further away from the center stayed aside of the process of Christianization.

In the immense land of Rus', cults, and guidelines could not be imposed from above on the entire population; normative values and religious devotions were largely a matter for grass-roots.²⁸

In upcoming times the bulk of Orthodox culture remained in villages; from this fact it probably can be concluded that the most conservative part of the population always stays in the rural regions, thus, it's difficult to change any kind of lifestyle or a view on how things should be in there, but once it takes hold, it cannot be easily reversed to anything else.

At this point, it is important to underline once again that the principle of cultural diffusion made Rus' part of the Eastern Orthodox world under the patronage of the Byzantines theologically and culturally. Volodymyr brought more than just political alliance and clerical hierarchy along with his new Byzantine princess, but craftsmen and artists whose job was to use specifically cultural element [architecture, iconography, etc.,] to raise him above the realm [including the

²⁶ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kiy, Andrzej Poppe, Marta Skorupsky, Frank E. Sysyn, Uliana M. Pasicznyk, *History of Ukraine-Rus': From Prehistory to the eleventh century* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1997) at p. 392.

²⁷ Helen C. Evans, William D. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*, an article by Speros P. Vryonis, Jr, *Byzantine Society and Civilization* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997) at p. 19.

²⁸ Liz James, *A Companion to Byzantium*, an article by Jonathan Shepard, *Orthodoxy and Northern Peoples: Goods, Gods and Guidelines* (John Wiley & Sons, 2010) at p. 185.

elites] as the unifier of his people; construction of the new palace residence and the major church in the center of Kyiv was part of it.²⁹

From then on (988) the history of Rus' was inseparably interwoven with the Orthodox Christianity and Byzantine culture. The Eastern Rite, architecture, iconography, theology all were modeled or directly borrowed from the Orthodox Greek Empire to the south, and henceforth, the whole story of later generations of Rus' and its direct historical derivative Ukraine must be looked at from such a perspective that they wanted to keep this heritage no matter what kind of pressure was implied by the foreign religious concepts. So far it can be said that major rivals of the Orthodoxy in these lands came in the form of two foreign factors, (1) dominance of the Roman Catholic Polish Kingdom [starting with the fourteenth century], and (2) Tatar-Mongol invasions from the East [thirteenth century] and later Tatar invasions from the South [thirteenth century onwards]. They should be studied with a lot of technicalities further on. Both factors were of course very different as much as the people who claimed the lands of Rus' [south-western Rus' principalities - today's Ukrainian territory, here must be distinguished from the north-eastern Rus' region which starting with the twelfth century slowly began to separate from Kyiv politically and culturally to later form the Duchy around growing town of Moscow that became the base for the development of Russia and its further expansion].³⁰ This particular distinction is also very important to understand along with the mentioned above geography of Rus'. The history of Ukraine and Russia both may be rooted in Kyivan Rus' as much as German and French history goes back to the Frankish Empire of Charlemagne [similar to Volodymyr], however, the latter was neither a Frenchman nor German.

The parallel is apt enough, not least because both men became heroes of later national legends. Of course, Volodymyr the Rus was no more a Russian than Charlemagne the Frank had been a Frenchman. 'Russia' did not exist in his day, any more than 'France' existed in Charlemagne's.³¹

This underlining of the distinction and clarity between the two countries and historical terms [different histories so to speak] is technically necessary for the future study of the matter discussed in this work.

Generally, in his work, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus*, Serhii Plokhy claims that neither Belarus, Russia or Ukraine can claim their direct origin, [become the direct claimants of the same statehood], but in the very same study he said,

There is little doubt in my mind that the Kyivan-era project involving the construction of a single identity had a profound impact on the subsequent identities of all the ethnic groups that constituted the Kyivan state. That project defined the parameters of the Rus' legacy, which still forms the basis of the cultural commonalities between the three East Slavic Nations.³²

²⁹ Ibid., p. 183.

³⁰ Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Random House, 2010) at p. 463.

³¹ Ibid., p. 326.

³² Serhii Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) at p. 2.

Kyivan Rus' and modern Ukraine are very different entities; in this work, it's important to show the Church history and direct connection between the Christianization of Rus' and the Greek Catholic tradition in Ukraine. Something that Plokhy identified as the "cultural commonalities". Continuation of the Christian tradition attained in Constantinople and transferred to Rus' and later Ukraine.

III

Differences between Rus Principalities – Fracturing of the Principality

As it was noted above, the two foreign factors must be looked at with more attention and history-based precision, basically when and why they became interested in the spreading into the southern Rus' principalities [future Ukraine], what gave them an advantage to settle their political, cultural and of course religious dominance. Clearly, it can be seen from the following events. Tatar invasions did not bring in latter's religion into Ukrainian lands [cultural diffusion may be questioned when it comes to the Ukrainian Cossacks, but it may be analyzed in another work], however, the case turned to be very different in the territories West from Kyiv were beginning with the fourteenth century Polish Kingdom began to spread its political and military influence. The strongest breakthrough took place under the reign of Casimir the Great, when Poland took control over eastern Galicia and Volhynia [by distancing the Golden Horde's influence and winning it from Hungarian and Lithuanian interests] in the midst and second half of the fourteenth century.³³ To a certain degree, it was caused by the political, military, and economic disintegration of Rus' state before and particularly after the Mongol invasion in the 1230s/1240s. After the death of Volodymyr's son Yaroslav the Wise, various towns and regions began to claim their separatism from Kyiv's authority. Each branch of the Volodymyr's [and their Rus'-Varangian ancestor Rurik, who is often seen as the first ruler of Rus' before Oleh and Svyatoslav, and their common ancestor] family saw their own interests above it all. Kyiv began to go into decline closer to the end of the twelfth century, especially after conquest by the north-eastern *Vladimir and Suzdal* Duke Andrey Bogolyubsky in 1169, so later invasion by the Mongol-Tatar hordes under the Batu-Khan only worsened its political stance.³⁴ Similar faith of this nomad invasion [or the series of invasions] followed further West, including the lands of Galicia and Volhynia, thus, by the 1300s technically the Rurik-Volodymyr princely family was in a huge decline. Destroyed territories simply lost their leaders in battles, so as a result of it, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and Poles began to look forward to taking over them as soon as possible. Eventually, the most successful forces began to reign over the south-western Rus', and those were Poles and Lithuanians. Lithuania was a rising military force on the South-Eastern Baltic shore during the early fourteenth century, they moved southward against the lands North to Kyiv [modern Belarus] with the growing pressure against the principality of Polotsk. Technically, the post Tatar-Mongol invasion Rus' even saw

³³ Cathal J. Nolan, *The Age of Wars of Religion, 1000-1650: An Encyclopedia of Global Warfare and Civilization, Volume II* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006) at p. 883.

³⁴ Roman Solchanyk, *Ukraine and Russia: The Post-Soviet Transition* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000) at p. 256.

them as the less dangerous enemy and it seemed to show little resistance, but even if dispersed principalities could manifest some force, they still had to be concerned over the steppe in the South due to persisting waves of other possibilities of routing similar to Batu-Khan's in 1240. It also appears that some three hundred years later the Orthodox tradition really took a much stronger hold over the Rus' people, who were willing to defend the major cathedral of Kyiv, St Sophia, until the last man was alive, however, only the group military leader Dimitri was spared for his bravery because he decided to organize the defense, when the prince Michael ran away.³⁵ Kyiv from then on turned into a village that was not interesting to any serious conqueror. South-western principality of *Galicia-Volhynia* was not hit as badly as other regions, Mongols sort of passed by without causing as much damage as in Kyiv.³⁶ Very talented prince Danylo of Galicia had lost control of Kyiv after its destruction but found forces to grasp the stronger control over his principality in the West, and it seems was also able to find some 'language' with the Mongols, generally speaking, his political maneuvering was saving the day against any attempt on the side of foreigners to conquer his land.³⁷

The upcoming events will portray that the general direction taken by prince Danylo was wise and diplomatic, it preserved the strength of his realm and kept Rus' heritage intact. At the same time, this direction was pointing at the West because of the Galicia-Volhynian geographical proximity to Poland, Hungary - the Catholic world. This issue is going to show itself in the following century, when his dynasty will cease to exist, and Casimir the Great of Poland shall use an opportunity to take control of the region. As it was noted before, the dispersion of Kyivan Rus' and nomadic invasions from the East weakened the whole realm and even though a territory of Galicia-Volhynia kept its independence, it still could not last for too long. Here it may be important to direct attention to the fact on why the story turns to this western Rus' principality. First, it is closeness to Catholic Europe, second the relatively small size of the land, so it was not able to hold off the foreign interests the growing power of Poland and Lithuania. Later this is going to be the major historical base for the blending of Orthodoxy and Catholicism. The very reason on which the future Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was found. Certainly, this post-Mongol invasion period of the south-western Rus' is the moment of cultural determination for the upcoming events that made the union between Latin and Byzantine traditions. Nevertheless, there were no signs of such denominational or better to say theological co-operation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was required to take much longer time. Polish domination was spread all over the Galician and Volhynian regions by the late 1300s, central Ukraine was under the Lithuanian influence after the early 1360s when Kyiv finally fell as an independent urban center.³⁸ Lithuanian culture at that time was borrowing a lot from both worlds, Polish and Rus' (or Ruthenian, another term to describe Rus' to the west and south of Smolensk, it certainly may be used as an alternative term). Additionally, Lithuanians are the last pagan nation in Europe, so not earlier than 1387 they

³⁵ Robert Marshall, *Storm from the East: From Genghis Khan to Kubilai Khan* (University of California Press, 1993) at p. 107.

³⁶ Serhii Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations*, pp. 50-51.

³⁷ Ivan Katchanovski, Zenon E. Kohut, Bohdan Y. Nebesio, Myroslav Yurkevich, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine* (Scarecrow Press, 2013) at p. 123.

³⁸ Walter C. Clemens, *The Baltic Transformed: Complexity Theory and European Security* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001) at p. ix (A Chronology).

have accepted Christianity from the hands of Poland, and obviously it was not based on the Eastern Orthodox tradition. Even though after the incorporation of the Orthodox lands [Ukraine, Belarus] Lithuanians did not accept the Byzantine tradition. Also, this new warlike nation was seriously outnumbered within its own new borders, definitely it's ruling elites did not stand on the same level with the Ruthenian one, for example, they did not really have the culture of writing during that time. However, the Rus' [Ruthenian] culture, in particular the written language, was fully accepted and legalized on the conquered territories, some Lithuanian princess intermarried with the local elites and agreed to accept Orthodoxy, but the whole process of diffusion did not last because of much stronger position of Poland in Eastern Europe.

In 1316 the rulers of Lithuania gained from the patriarch of Constantinople the establishment of a separate metropolitanate for Lithuania at Novohradak. Orthodox Lithuanians commemorate as their patron saints three Orthodox leaders martyred by pagans in Vilnius in 1347, namely Sts. Antony, John, and Eustathy.³⁹

In other words, there was certain influence from the Orthodox world, and territories acquired by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were not really suppressed religiously or culturally. Ruthenian language was the official language in courts, and the local nobility did not lose its status. Of course, Ruthenians [Rus'] did not go back to the previous centuries of unity and glory, but their position during the 1300s and 1400s was much better than of those who remained under the Golden Horde's yoke. It was the moment when Ruthenia began to choose a pro-Western direction of its development, similar situation was taking place in the Republics of Novgorod and Pskov [were not conquered by the Mongols, but paid fiefs to them], these cities practiced strong trade with the rest of Europe, especially Baltic Hansa, thus, even if there was no direct Western influence, via religion etc, it was very different from the Vladimir-Suzdal principality and its surroundings [later the Grand Duchy of Moscow]. Ruthenia was practically spared from the constant possibility of conquest, however, the list of attacks from the South or the *Wild Fields* [modern south-eastern Ukraine] by the various groups of Tatars did not stop. Technically the general picture of how the political/denominational situation in the land of today's Ukraine was during the 1300s is more or less clear. Orthodox Christianity lost its fight for the hearts and minds of Lithuanians to Poland but remained stable in Ruthenia, and seemingly nothing could replace it, at least such an idea as the Union with Rome was not realistic. Nevertheless, the Curia did not develop such a plan yet, but everything would change during the following century with the Florentine Union, which paved the way for the 'Uniate' Churches in the East [one of the biggest attempts of this kind since the Great Schism].

³⁹ John Anthony McGuckin, *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, 2 Volume Set* (John Wiley & Sons, 2010) at p. 368.

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The whole idea was absolutely powerful, and even though it did not practically survive for too long, still it began to show the way of how to reconcile two very different Christian traditions through the union and avoiding the direct Latinization. Practically it should be noticed that by the fifteenth-century Orthodox world was not in the strongest position because of the disappearing Byzantine Empire, it was including only the small regions next to Constantinople and the city itself could not show any more force or authority over the territories as Ruthenia. After the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1203, the decline escalated, so by the mid-fifteenth century, there was a lot of need in alliances in the West because of the growing danger to lose the city to the Ottoman Turks.⁴⁰ Also, the Ruthenian [Ukrainian, Belarus] factor was also very important in terms of theology, the role of Kyiv and its representatives such as the Metropolitan Gregory, who accepted the Florentine Union (1439) or Metropolitan Isidore (an ethnic Greek), which was ‘the face’ of an Orthodox Eastern Europe [Lithuania, Ruthenia and Moscovy] and certainly wanted to ‘unite’ with the Holy See.⁴¹ In the Grand Duchy of Moscovy, the latter’s attempt was seen extremely negatively, and the union did not take place at all, however, theological issues went in another direction in the lands of Polish/Lithuanian controlled Ruthenia, local nobility (for example, Ostrozhsy, Verenetsky, Chetvertinsky families) saw their fellow nobles from Lithuania and Poland, who were Catholic, as an example and did not look very different [peasants and many people in towns remained staunchly Orthodox.⁴² But it must be added that this was only the beginning of ‘polonization’ and the ‘westernization’ of the Orthodox Church in the traditionally Orthodox territories; the whole task of the Florentine Council in regards to the ideal of the union with the East did not create the Uniate Church in Ruthenia [Ukraine], it was only the beginning of this process. The social elites still remained under the influence of Orthodoxy and refused to follow such people as Isidore to the full extent. At that time Rome wanted more than just the union, it wished to implement true ‘Latinization’ and subordination to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, re-ordination of the Orthodox clergy or the rebaptizing process was reached all the time, thus, creating a lot of negative feelings on the other side.⁴³ It seems that during the 1400s Catholic theologians were not ready to accept Eastern customs as equal to theirs, and did not want to retain another vertical of hierarchy that could be semi-independent from the rest of the Catholic Church. It still had all the signs of the general attempt to fully dominate, and there was no clear understanding that customs and traditions may be preserved because not these customs make one Catholic or not, but the notion of ‘unity’ itself with the Holy See by avoiding serious attempts to regulate numerous cultural issues. Later, Rome managed to basically overcome this agenda by giving the autonomy to the ‘Uniate’ Churches.

⁴⁰ W. E. D. Allen, *The Ukraine* (Cambridge University Press, 2014) at p. 51.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, at p. 51.

⁴² *Ibid.*, at pp. 51-52.

⁴³ Gerald Christianson, Thomas M. Izbicki, Christopher M. Bellitto, *A Historical Survey The Church, The Councils, and Reform; The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century*, an article by Nelson H. Minnich, *Councils of the Catholic Reformation* (CUA Press, 2008) at p. 43.

Growing Polish and Latin Catholic Influence

By turning attention to Ruthenia it must be noted that the process of ‘polonization’ of the Central, and Western Ukrainian territories [plus the region of modern-day Belarus] was closely related to the events that followed the Union of Krewo (1385) and the Union of Lublin (1569). These two political issues were divided by two centuries, which marked that particular period of change in the Ruthenian society [Ukraine, Belarus], and certainly among nobles and city population that eventually made the local Orthodox clergy to think more deeply about the union with Rome. The Union of Krewo was the first significant and legal step in putting Lithuanian and Polish reigning classes together under the same rule, somewhat like what the Austria-Hungary became in the nineteenth century. Obviously, it brought Lithuania closer to Catholicism by finally making the latter its only official religion. Lands that belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [Belarus, central Ukraine] began to experience even more ‘polonization’ and therefore the rising incorporation into the Catholic state. The Grand Duke Jogaila looked forward to uniting two realms under his rule as the King of Poland, but while retaining his control over Lithuanian lands. To an extent it was in the interest of both countries due to an overwhelming dangers that came from the Teutonic Knights on the Baltic, Moscovy, and the Tatars from the South-East; the whole process was finally ended in making Jogaila the Grand Duke and the King in 1413 with the Union of Hrodno.⁴⁴ This Lithuanian prince was able to unite two realms and form the ground for the infamous Polish-Lithuanian Jagiellonian dynasty, which brought the country to its peak of power and influence.

The most important issue in regards to the Lithuanian part was its autonomy, Polish magnates had no right to settle in there, Ruthenian language [the dominant legal writing system in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania], and even the regional Lithuanian Statute of 1529 was written in Ruthenian.⁴⁵ As it was noted before, Lithuanian dominated parts of Rus’-Ruthenia emerged as nearly an independent state, practically continuing many of the old traditions; it had literally blended into Lithuania by preserving its own life, when Lithuania itself eventually merged with Poland. Such terms as ‘polonization’, or the spread of Catholicism should be seen through the prism of time, and the rise of pro ‘union’ interests with the Catholic Church took centuries. Different areas were getting closer to Catholicism with different paste, for example, Galician nobles began to give the way to ‘polonization’ [and Catholic influence] more than let’s say Volhynian nobles, the latter group remained much more pro Orthodox by keeping their local laws and Ruthenian as an official language.⁴⁶ Such a magnate family as Ostrozhsy remained as the strongest protectors of the Orthodox faith well at least up to the sixteenth century, standing for The Lithuanian Statute, encouragement of the Kyiv Metropolitanate, and generally just not allowing the spread of influence from their counterparts from the Polish Kingdom. Their wealth and power were literally unmatched, they possessed more than one thousand

⁴⁴ Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795, Volume 4* (University of Washington Press, 2001) at p. 10-11.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

villages, one hundred smaller or larger towns, plus six hundred churches.⁴⁷ Later even they became more Polish and Catholic oriented after merging with the Zaslawski family.

VI

Unions of Lublin and Brest - 1569, 1596

The next step in the process of an increasing Catholic influence in Ruthenia was the Union of Lublin in 1569. It was the step that finally brought Lithuania and Poland together not merely through the King, but also the Sejm (Parliament in Warsaw), and the ceremony of recognition of the Grand Duke in Vilnius turned to be not so important anymore.⁴⁸ Additionally that, three years later the Jagiellon dynasty ceased to exist [Zygmunt August was dead] and the electoral system was established. It meant that more power went into the hands of nobility [Szlachta], and this fact was associated with even further 'Latinization'. Some representatives of nobility were Calvinist and alongside their Orthodox 'colleagues' in Ruthenia feared the increasing influence of purely Catholic [counter-reformist] interests.⁴⁹ This union made the Lithuanian part more obedient to the Polish Kingdom, and particularly its Catholic nobility, The Lithuanian Statute began to matter less and the tendency in the direction of steep 'polonization' grew. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth [*Rzeczpospolita Polska*] was born. From now on it's possible to directly talk about the root of the next, this time the union between two Churches, and the actual foundations of the Greek-Catholic Church in the lands of Ukraine [Ruthenia]. An increasing Catholic influence on the traditional Orthodox lands began to put local nobles, burghers, and peasants in the position of the second-class citizens, even if the first had a lot of influence and the latter consisted popular majority. Inequality and most likely the greater European counter-reformist factor caused the union, so it should be honestly said that without any pressure it would not take place. In 1595-96 most of the Orthodox hierarchs in Belarus and Ukraine [Ruthenian speaking bishops] accepted the Union in Brest-Litovsk, (Brest in modern Belarus) which allowed to retain the Eastern Rite and *sui juris* ["in its own right"] autonomy from the Latin hierarchy, but united by the Pope.

The union was effected at the meeting of representatives of the Metropolia of Kiev with the Pope on 23 December 1595 and was solemnly proclaimed at Brest-Litovsk on the River Bug on 16 October 1596.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Linda Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions: Social Turmoil in the Sixteenth Century Ukraine* (SUNY Press, 1983) at p. 40.

⁴⁸ Oskar Halecki, W. F. Reddaway, J.H. Penson, *The Cambridge History of Poland*, an article by Professor J. Pajewski, *Zygmunt August and the Union of Lublin, 1548-72* (CUP Archive) at p. 365.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

⁵⁰ John Paul II, 'Apostolic Letter Of The Supreme Pontiff John Paul II For The Fourth Centenary Of The Union Of Brest', (updated 25 Dec. 2004)

<http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_19951112_iv-cent-union-brest_en.html>, accessed 27 Nov. 2014.

However, this signing of the Union did not actually create the UGCC but laid the ground for its future, and this ‘agreement’ is seen as the beginning of it. Such Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Orthodox Bishops as Hedeon Balaban, Kyrylo Terletsky, Leontii Pelchynsky, Dionysius Zbirujsky were the major figures in the process of unification.⁵¹ Notably, the whole process was not smooth and quick, it was rejected by the majority of the population, many saw this ‘deal’ as the higher treason against the real Church and its traditions. Even though the ritual (Eastern Rite) did not change, and commoners could technically follow the same tradition, still everyone felt that this is not an Orthodoxy anymore and the real leader of the Church is in Rome [something that was seen as foreign and unfriendly]. In Galicia alone, the Union was not accepted at all, and the only time when clearly the Greek-Catholic tradition began to take hold in there was by the end of 1600s/early 1700s when Poland decided to establish a stronger control over the area [caused by the Cossack rebellions of the mid-1600s].⁵² One of the main reasons why the concept of the Uniate Church began to take hold in Ruthenian [or Slavonic speaking territories] was because the ritual itself did not change, language was preserved, priests were allowed to maintain their families and generally the common picturesque of how the Church is supposed to look like remained the same. People did not notice a lot of practical differences, so the questions of theology (something that is usually not that well known to most of the commoners) were not as obvious as if they were forced to practice their religion in the Latin Rite. Patriarch was replaced by the Pope, but no use of Latin was required, icons with iconostasis were kept intact, the presence of the leavened bread during the communion etc., all made it more useful and usual according to people who were raised in the Orthodox tradition.⁵³ On the other hand, the union started something that may be called ‘to stay in between the two lanes’ because Latin Rite hierarchy and laity did not fully accept the fact that the Uniate clergy experienced independence and autonomy, plus the Byzantine tradition was not associated with Catholicism, they simply could not really accept the factor of equality.

The haughty treatment of the Uniats by the Latin hierarchy and the exclusion of the Uniat bishops from the Senate spoiled Polish chances of promoting a more solid union of the two nations⁵⁴

To some extent there were hopes that the union will lead to more political rights in Warsaw, however, it did not really work in practice.

⁵¹ <http://risu.org.ua/en/index/reference/major_religions/~UGCC/43853/>: Religious Information Service of Ukraine, (updated, 28 Nov. 2014), accessed 28 Nov. 2014.

⁵² J. P. Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1870-1900* (McGill-Queen’s Press - MQUP, 1999) at p. 6.

⁵³ Albert Leong, *The Millennium: Christianity and Russia, A.D. 988-1988*, an article by Basil Dmytryshyn, *The Ukrainian Church: Observations on the Occasion of its Millennium* (St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1990) at p. 48.

⁵⁴ Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization*, p. 347.

VII

Cossack Uprisings and the Uniate Position in the Commonwealth

Central and eastern Ukrainian territories kept on going with the Orthodox tradition, especially after the Cossack rebellions [led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky] which led to the incorporation of these lands to the greater Russian State after 1654 [the union with Moscow].⁵⁵ In the West of Ukraine where Polish influence remained well until the second half of the eighteenth century, it all took a better hold over society, but as during the Volodymyr's times when Christianity was introduced, the process of changes met a lot of resistance, as it was mentioned before once people accepted one tradition they keep on retaining this tradition by showing a lot of resistance; even though this time it was not another religion, there was almost no change in the ritual. Let's say one of the methods to resist the unionism was manifested through the so-called 'Orthodox brotherhoods'. For example, the Lviv Orthodox Brotherhood kept financial ties with Moscow, produced a lot of correspondence with the Tsar, and generally saw him as the leader and protector of the Orthodox population in Ruthenia.⁵⁶ The Commonwealth authorities saw it as treason and did everything to stop such connections, and so caused even more dissent, which was one of the reasons that led to the 1648 Cossack rebellion. Local population resisted such changes because for too long, the West, especially in the face of the Polish Kingdom was seen as an invader, its nobility as a usurper of the Orthodox laity, thus, to the great extent the idea of 'unionism' with the Catholic world only pushed closer to such rebellions. Before moving forward it may be peculiar to point at the fact by keeping the Orthodox faith [never really sympathizing with the Uniate cause] many Cossacks and Ruthenian nobles could fight against the Orthodox Moscovy during its Time of Troubles, for example, in 1618 the Cossack hetman [military commander] Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny led his force against Moscow alongside with the Commonwealth allies, however, forbade his troops to violate the Orthodox churches.⁵⁷ Politics could remain as usual, and even without directly converting to the Greek-Catholics, the Ruthenian population could try to maintain the loyalty to the Polish crown.

In 1646 there was another Union of Uzhhorod, which technically repeated the previous one in order to solidify the position and status of Catholics of the Eastern Rite; it particularly underlined the fact that they can practice and maintain their ritual and autonomy, Church Slavonic, local customs [ex., Carpathian plainchant], Julian calendar etc.,⁵⁸ Notably, both signings of the Union with Rome took place in the lands, which since the *Galician-Volhynian* Duke Danylo of Galicia were in the geographical proximity to the Catholic Europe, after all the Ruthenian/Ukrainian Greek-Catholic tradition even since the beginning was primarily settling in the western Ukraine. This issue may be questioned if looking at the fact that all the representatives, who signed both *unions* were obedient to the Kyiv Metropolia before [central Ukraine], but still all of them directly supervised eparchies in the West. This second union did

⁵⁵ Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, p. 134.

⁵⁶ Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations*, pp. 226-227.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁵⁸ Elaine Rusinko, *Straddling Borders: Literature and Identity in Subcarpathian Rus'* (University of Toronto Press, 2003) at p. 43.

not really change anything, but more clearly underlined the legal status of the *Uniates* according to the Canon Law of the Catholic Church. Ironically, the anti-Polish rebellion led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky started only two years after the Union of Uzhhorod, and the first aimed at the destruction of any ‘unionism’ with Catholicism. Neither the large amount of skepticism on the side of the Latin Rite, nor the pressure from Moscow and staunchly pro-Orthodox Cossacks were able to wipe out this new tradition based on balance between the old ritual and new loyalty. After the divisions of Poland [second half of the eighteenth century], Western Ukraine was divided between the Russian and Austrian Empires, Volhynia was incorporated into the first, and Galicia (with Trans-Carpathian region) went to the latter. Hence, Austria was the Roman Catholic state, it seemed to recognize the Uniate Church because it was part of the policy supported by the Habsburgs.

The name Greek-Catholic Church was introduced by Empress Maria Theresa in 1774 in order to distinguish it from the Roman Catholic and Armenian Catholic Churches⁵⁹

So the Church received its modern name in 1774 from the hands of the Austrian monarchy to highlight its Catholic orientation and particular distinction in the Empire.

VIII

Poland, Russia, and Austria

A geopolitical position between the Latin Rite Catholic Poland/Austria-Hungary and the growing power of the Russian state, which was traditionally Orthodox, constantly kept on influencing the Greek-Catholic communities in Ukraine from both sides. Above mentioned example of a return to the Orthodoxy on the side of some Uniate communities of Volhynia/Galicia in the late nineteenth century can be seen as the sign of such geopolitical influence: technically, if in the late sixteenth century the Polish state was one of the strongest sources of power in the discussed region, by the nineteen hundreds this position was taken by the Russian empire. Numerous Russophile (and therefore Orthodox) tendencies in the western parts of Ukraine could not stay away from the Greek-Catholic clergy and the church’s followers.

However, the crucial breakthrough for Russophilism in Galicia came in the late 1860’s, when so-called St. George circle of Greek Catholic dignitaries in Lviv espoused its tenets. Thereafter, Russophilism spread rapidly among most of the clergy.⁶⁰

The church and the people who began to follow its *uniata* tradition were living along the geopolitical split between the East and West, thus, the whole variety of problematic misconceptions could happen over and over again in the following time. Since the end of the sixteenth-century rulers of the Russian empire always dreamt about conversion of the Greek-

⁵⁹ <<http://www.ugcc.org.ua/30.0.html?&L=2#c42>>: Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, official website, (updated 03 Nov. 2014), accessed 29 Nov. 2014.

⁶⁰ Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, p. 317.

Catholic laity and clergy back into Orthodoxy, which would most likely be supervised by the church authorities in Moscow and later St. Petersburg. Russian Czar Nicholas I was one of the most notorious prosecutors of the Greek-Catholics before 1917.

In 1835 he subordinated the Uniate Church to the Office of the Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod; and on February, 1839, he formally dissolved the Uniate-Catholic agreement of 1596 and sent many Uniate priests to Siberia or to Russia's interior.⁶¹

In other words, the situation was not always perfect in the earlier periods of the church's history, various pressures and dissatisfaction took place all the time, technically Uniates had to find the middle path in order to keep the Greek-Catholic tradition available to the laity. Slightly earlier before the mentioned above political prosecutions, the Russian Empress Catherine the Great was achieving similar results through the means of restricting the church and its hierarchy from acting freely. She as many other Russian rulers saw Orthodoxy as the solidifying force behind their monarchy, any other denomination (or religion) was viewed as the undermining of their power and authority. The fact that Greek-Catholics along with the Roman Catholics were strongly connected to the political powers abroad, made Russian rulers see it with suspicion because for them such bilateral loyalty was purely unacceptable.

Catherine persecuted the Greek Catholic Church of Kiev by closing monasteries, naming Orthodox pastors, and eventually ordering 9,000 parishes and more than 8 million faithful into Russian Orthodoxy.⁶²

Nevertheless, through the course of time, the Greek-Catholic population of western Ukraine kept on holding to its faith and even managed to spread it to the North American continent along with the immigration wave, which was particularly concentrated in Canada.⁶³ The variety of new opportunities that existed in the New World did not escape from the Ukrainian eye, and due to the fact that many of new immigrants were from the Galician region, the Uniate Greek-Catholic traditions were spreading in the new land of economic promises, even though not all of them were accepted as equals by the local population and authorities.⁶⁴ All along the process of immigration, the church was strengthening its position among its followers in Canada and often was assisted by the clergy directly from Ukraine, people needed a lot of spiritual help and were able to find it.

⁶¹ Albert Leong, *The Millennium: Christianity and Russia, A.D. 988-1988*, p. 49.

[On this page materials from an article by Oleksii Krykunov (me), were used *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The Blend of Two Traditions* (Bonn University, 2011)].

⁶² Christopher Lawrence Zuger, *The Forgotten: Catholics of the Soviet Empire from Lenin Through Stalin*, (Syracuse University Press, 2001) at p. 25.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

⁶⁴ Jaroslav Petryshyn, Luba Dzubak, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (James Lorimer & Company, 1985) at p. 144.

In 1910, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi, the hierarch of the Greek Catholic church in Galicia, toured the Ukrainian-Canadian communities in a morale-boosting and fact-finding mission.⁶⁵

At the same time, another similar process was taking place in the United States where Ukrainian communities began to settle in while facing similar issues of acceptance. Eventually, the United States became another home for the Greek-Catholic community from Ukraine and another center of its cultural development.⁶⁶ Amazingly, both countries may become the safe haven for the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in the future. Currently, it may be very important to continue this overview of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church's history as it began to face numerous repressions after the end of World War II because it will take readers closer to what was happening with the Church during its underground period. As it was noted before, most of the Greek-Catholics lived in western parts of Ukraine (which before 1939 belonged to the Second Polish Republic), and well until the late 1940s did not experience any ideological pressures from the atheist government in the USSR, which became notorious for its purges against any organized religion. Closer to World War I the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine was deeply rooted on territories of Eastern Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Volhynia, and partially Bukovina, territories that are today considered to be on the western side of the state. After the division of Poland during the second half of the eighteenth century, a region of Volhynia was incorporated into the Russian Empire and the UGCC was overwhelmingly taken by the Russian Orthodox Church, however, Galicia, Transcarpathia and Bukovina (Austrian-Hungarian territories) were major keepers of the Greek-Catholic tradition. One of the most prominent church figures of that time was Bokshai Ioann, his activities and talents in music were well known in the Greek-Catholic community, and also throughout the Austria-Hungary.

Bokshai's musical work included compositions for the flute, arrangements of folk music, and music for six eastern liturgies.⁶⁷

The UGCC was not really experiencing any serious issues with its neighbors within Austria-Hungary but was in many ways the center of the Ukrainian national movement before and after the World War I, it was seen as the distinguishably Ukrainian or Ruthenian (Rusyn) Church.⁶⁸ After the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, Ukraine did not become independent, Transcarpathia turned to the newly established Czechoslovakia, Eastern Galicia and Volhynia to Poland, and parts of Bukovina to Romania. As before, the UGCC had to manage this

⁶⁵ Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, p. 549.

⁶⁶ Yaroslav J. Chyz, *The Ukrainian Immigrants in the United States* (Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, 1939) at p. 7.

[On this page materials from an article by Oleksii Krykunov (me) were used, *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The Blend of Two Traditions* (Bonn University, 2011)].

⁶⁷ Paul R. Magocsi, Ivan Ivanovich Pop, *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*, an article *Bokshai, Ioann* by Mykhailo Almashii, (University of Toronto Press, 2002) at p. 44.

⁶⁸ Steven Merritt Miner, *Stalin's Holy War: Religion, Nationalism, a Alliance Politics, 1941-1945*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2003) at p. 179.

situation and consolidate its community, but on the other hand those small parts of the Greek-Catholic Church that remained on territories that belonged to the Soviet Ukraine were facing all kinds of terrible policies. It was destroyed along with the Orthodox Church and had to face the underground methods of survival.

Soviet anti-religious policies also completely destroyed the negligible structure of the Greek Catholic Church in Moscow-ruled portions of Ukraine.⁶⁹

At this point, it will be important to note that the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics were also present in the New World, Canada, and the United States. Even though this is not the main part of the work to discuss the history of the UGCC outside of Eastern Europe, though it will be mentioned from time to time in order not to leave this important portion of the church's life of that time. For example, in Canada, those Ukrainian immigrants who were traditionally Greek-Catholic were not immediately accepted by the local communities, and moreover, were sometimes seen with suspicion because of its non-Latin Rite *modus operandi*. However, the Roman Catholic congregations in Canada began to see the situation without biases and accepted the fact that the Eastern Catholic tradition is equal to theirs, in other words, the problem of *acceptance* was not lasting for too long.

A number of Roman Catholic missionaries then adopted the Eastern rite in hopes of finding acceptability among Ukrainians.⁷⁰

Eventually, misunderstandings were solved and two branches of Catholicism were living in absolute peace without trying to raise the question of the Rites. Such prominent and talented Roman Catholic priests as Father Delaere knew it very well and could perceive the situation objectively, he encouraged the establishment of the Greek-Catholic eparchy, which could be led by the Ukrainian bishop.⁷¹ Most of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in the New World were able to establish their religious life fairly fast and without any serious conflicts with the local population, especially during the second generation which was born in there. After all democracies in Canada and the United States were eventually fully admitting any denomination or religion without imposing serious barriers. In around 1924 when Ukrainians were able to establish their own Greek-Catholic bishoprics, the total community of the biggest eparchy (Philadelphia) consisted of 235,000 members, and it was totally tolerated by every other religious community and the government.⁷² Surely the situation that was taking place in

⁶⁹ Ibid., at p. 180.

⁷⁰ Jaroslav Petryshyn, L. Dzubak, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914*, (James Lorimer & Company, 1985) at p. 196.

[On this page materials from an article by Oleksii Krykunov (me) were used, *Structure and theology of the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine and among diaspora Ukrainians since 1939 to mid 1980's*: (Bonn University, 2012)].

⁷¹ Ibid., at p. 196.

⁷² Richard Sisson, Christian K. Zacher, Andrew Robert Lee Cayton, *The American Midwest: An Interpretive Encyclopedia*, (Indiana University Press, 2007) at p. 237.

[On this page materials from an article by Oleksii Krykunov (me) were used, *Structure and theology of the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine and among diaspora Ukrainians since 1939 to mid 1980's*: (Bonn

Ukraine was very different, the UGCC had to face decades of legal prosecutions, and the year when it technically started was 1939, when the territory where the Church was historically based was incorporated into the overall structure of the USSR. As it was mentioned above, some bits of the Greek-Catholic Church existed in on the territories that were controlled by the Soviet regime since 1917, and over there it was completely forbidden and destroyed during the 1920s and 30s, however, people in the western regions (despite the fact that they knew about the situation in the Soviet-controlled area) did not really expect an upcoming situation that their religious tradition was meant to be de-legitimized.

IX

Greek-Catholic Position After World War I

The position of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the period before 1939, both in Ukraine and abroad is an important factor to be seen, especially in retrospect to what was to follow because this position made it strong enough to continue its existence during the time of persecutions. First such attempts took place before, it could be the force of such rulers as Nicholas I of Russia or attempts to destroy it through the mob-like activity in the case of Cossack rebellions. In the areas where the Church was losing its strongholds, laity and clergy looked at the areas where it was legally protected [Austrian Empire], it helped the process of survival and the maintenance of the whole structure. In the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries western Ukrainians transferred this tradition to the New World, and this process of keeping the UGCC afar from direct prosecutions from trouble continued later. The factor of immigration will be discussed in the following chapters because one of the major reasons why the tradition was able to survive is because there was an escape route, and this root was established and later protected by the diaspora. Particularly it relates to the Church institutions in the United States and Canada. Basically, the whole standing of the UGCC before 1939, the year when anti-Church prosecutions were taken to an unprecedented level due to the might of the force which declared war against the UGCC, marks the dividing line over the historical timeline. Here the analysis focuses particularly on the Greek-Catholic tradition, however, this year was the same part of the division line for any religion in the west of Ukraine. Further study will continue to analyze Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, a person mentioned above a few times. He seemingly made the Greek-Catholic tradition stronger and probably better prepared for the problems that existed during his rule over the Church before 1939 and during the last five years when he led it until 1944.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky

Concentration over his biography and personal activity. It shall also explain his life prior to 1939, which is important to understand why he became so influential. Provide enough prove that without him, the Greek-Catholic Church structure and tradition in Ukraine would not be the same, becoming less resilient to the pressure imposed by the state.

I

Early Years and Background

Andrei (Andriy) Sheptytsky is often considered to be one of the most influential figures in the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church for his contribution to its political standing, for its theology, and generally the culture of those lands that were under his clerical supervision. *Surely without his presence and authority, the UGCC would never survive the future cataclysms that followed it in the twentieth century, or simply could be way less prominent in Ukraine today.* He headed the Church when there was no Ukrainian state/government, and many issues of the latter were imposed on the Archbishop/Metropolitan Sheptytsky [and the UGCC], for example, the establishment of a national museum in Lviv, Ukrainian hospital, postsecondary education institutions etc.⁷³ His stance against totalitarianism is of special interest due to many criticisms, which accused him of collaborationism, thus, it may be important to emphasize Sheptytsky's political and humanitarian views. In 1942 he sent a letter to Rome with many warnings against the Nazi regime in Germany, underlining its evil and inhumane ideology that may be compared to Bolshevism, and the danger which hangs above the Jews of Europe.⁷⁴ By and large, this figure is always mentioned when talks reach western Ukraine, Galicia, or Eastern Catholicism, vividly it may be very difficult to understand the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church without Andrei Sheptytsky.

He was born in 1865 in the Ukrainian/Ruthenian/Polish family of aristocratic descent near Lviv, then part of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria under the patronage of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. History and politics of the day trace his family to many different backgrounds and eventually promised vastly different future for each member of the family. His first language was French [very common in those days among nobles in Europe], and the culture was clearly Polish, he was originally named *Count Roman Szeptycki* and was considered to be a good representative of *Szlachta* [Polish nobility], plus the family's religion was of Latin Rite, not Greek-Catholic at that time.⁷⁵ However, young Andrei wanted to pursue his family's Ruthenian roots and in 1888 converted to the Eastern Rite, also deciding to join the Basilian *novitiate* in Dobromyl [one of the centers of the Greek-Catholic Church in

⁷³ Liliya Berezhnaya, Christian Schmitt, *Icon Turns: Nation and Religion in Eastern European Cinema since 1989*, an article by John-Paul Himka, *A Cinematic Churchman: Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky on Oles Yanchuk's 'Vladyka Andrey'* (BRILL, 2013) at p. 128.

⁷⁴ Frank J. Coppa, *Politics and the Papacy in the Modern World* (ABC-CLIO, 2008) at p. 129.

⁷⁵ J. P. Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1870-1900* (McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP, 1999) at p. 129.

Galicia].⁷⁶ This act shows his deep understanding of the Ruthenian/Ukrainian background and clear knowledge of the fact that no matter how far his family went in ‘polonization’, still he saw his deep religiosity and the future only within the frames of Greek-Catholic tradition. Somewhat a step which clarifies his upcoming defense of the Ukrainian culture and its traditions, and it will be seen from the following study of his biography. On the other hand, his brother Stanislaw, later on, became the general in the Polish army [after World War I when Poland regained its independence] and it’s another example of how different could be the influences in the same family.⁷⁷ Also, it may be important to note that his brother Klymentiy Sheptytsky followed Andrei in the approach to become the religious figure, less famous, but equally interesting and his name will reappear in this study. First Klymentiy [originally Casimir] was even elected to the Austrian parliament in 1900, however, decided not to continue with politics and entered the Monastery of St. Theodore the Studite in 1911 [Latin Rite], later converted to the Eastern Rite as his brother did, eventually becoming the abbot of the Univ Monastery [Galicia].⁷⁸ Eventually, he will become an active supporter of the Greek-Catholic Church after the Second Soviet occupation, was arrested in 1947, and died in the Soviet jail in 1951 [beatified by John Paul II as a martyr].⁷⁹

II

Ecclesiastical Career – Basilian Order – Byzantian Rite

The rise of Andrei Sheptytsky within the Basilian Order and hierarchy of the Greek-Catholic Church meant that his abilities, personal and family-based were strong, after all, he was a count, the noblemen who gave credibility to those representatives of the Ruthenian clergy, who led him on top of the ‘hierarchical stairway’. Nevertheless, his mighty Polish background made him slightly foreign to Ruthenians, at first, they did not accept him as fully theirs, possibly Andrei Sheptytsky could rise even faster in the Latin Rite, but his insistence on continuing within the Uniate tradition was unbreakable. By the end of the eighteen-nineties he was credible enough to become appointed as the auxiliary bishop, Sheptytsky’s candidacy was given to Metropolitan Sembratovych, who was already ill and could not perform his duties, but the latter rejected this choice because he was too young for the job, and not that popular among the Ruthenians, so the appointment could cause some turbulence in the Church.⁸⁰ Eventually, he was appointed the bishop of Stanislaviv when the new Metropolitan Kulovsky became in charge of the Greek-Catholics, it caused some dissatisfaction on the side of Ruthenians, who believed the same idea that Poles are going to dominate them through the clergy, but on the other hand Austrian and Polish side thought that it was very positive, it drew away some

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 129.

⁷⁷ Freie Universität Berlin. Osteuropa-Institut, *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, Volume 59* (Harrassowitz, 2001) at p. 125.

⁷⁸ <<http://www.ugcc.org.ua/35.0.html?&L=2>>: Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, official website, (updated 5 Dec. 2014), accessed 5 Dec. 2014.

⁷⁹ <http://www.papalvisit.org.ua/eng/gcc_bio.php>: The Papal visit to Ukraine, June 23-27, 2001 website, (updated updated 5 Dec. 2014), accessed 5 Dec. 2014.

⁸⁰ J. P. Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine* at pp. 129-130.

accusations of prosecutions against Ruthenians from them.⁸¹ After all, according to supporters of the Latin Rite, someone who was close to them was rising through the ranks of the Basilian Order to possibly control the Greek-Catholic Church. Certainly, both sides still did not expect or simply could not believe that the son of a Count Jan Kanty Szeptycki [Andrei's father] may become so pro Ruthenian/Ukrainian, and in the future, his position within the Church will strengthen Ruthenian position politically and culturally. Very quickly the Bishop Sheptytsky began to speak for the common people, particularly Ruthenians, and almost immediately after his appointment received another welcome from the majority of the Greek-Catholic Ruthenians. Unlike the Metropolitan Kulovsky, he began to encourage an opening of the *reading clubs*, which were directed primarily to inform and probably educate peasantry. Some see it as a political move, however, at least in the beginning he wanted to spread the word merely with the religious intention, so even people in the Orthodox Bukovina may read his message.⁸²

III

Bishop – The Rise to Metropolitan

Certainly, it may be very hard to prove that there was no political motive behind it, but this may be seen as Bishop Sheptytsky's plan to establish himself within the clergy as someone, who possesses an independent voice, something that may be called a pastoral word to the laymen. For example, his famous letter to Hutsuls ["To My Beloved Hutsuls"], a mountain-based, remote group of Ruthenians, who at that time were sinking in drunkenness, poverty, and usury; it stated that they shall come out of this lifestyle, get closer to morality, so they shall not damage their earthly life in here and the next one in the Heaven.⁸³ It was clearly pastoral or fatherly based letter to the corrupt folk seemingly without any political predisposition. However, even if his wishes were purely of his pastoral duties, still such a caring position with or without political pretext was becoming as such, and certainly gave a lot of credit to the young Bishop. Definitely, he would never achieve *an authority* over the lands he had to look over if there was indifference to the common laity. Thus, it possesses some degree of his political positioning in Galicia at that time, but without any certain proves. At some point, it may be said that Sheptytsky was already trying to unite Galicians [or Galician Ruthenians] in one way or another, and somehow bring spiritual and probably ideological/political consensus. This role of being a 'unifier' continued further on during the early twentieth century when it came to other ethnic or religious groups, in particular Jews.

Historian John-Paul Himka has written about the tense "triangle" of Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Galicia, tense for reasons of religious as well as national conflict, and Himka has

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 130.

⁸² Ibid., p. 131.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 133.

noted that the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Sheptytsky, Fredro's grandson, was already trying to play a Galician conciliatory role during the first decade of the twentieth century.⁸⁴

Notably, Aleksander Fredro was a famous Polish writer and publicist during the mid-nineteenth century [maternal side]. This is one more argument so to speak, which shows the wider picture of Andrei Sheptytsky's background. Going back to his pastoral duties as a Bishop of Stanislaviv it should be made clearer that his wealth and status played a huge role in everything he tried to accomplish. Wide donations, purchasing of land for the seminary, cathedral decorations were bringing his status to a new level, for example, he gave 3,870 books [some of them of great historical value] to the library, which was established under his guidance.⁸⁵ There is no question about the status issue because someone like him, the real son of *Szlachta* was in a way raising the status of the Church, so it was supposed to be interested in such personality. It may not take a long time before he would become the Metropolitan of the Greek-Catholic Church in Ruthenia [at that time modern western Ukrainian regions including Galicia where Bishop Sheptytsky was ordained, were using an ethnonym 'Ruthenia' as much as in the previous centuries], and most likely not without the help of status he was possessing. Also, it should not be given merely to his noble descent because other abilities and talents were absolutely necessary to reach this highest position in the Church. Andrei Sheptytsky's figure is well known for his diplomatic skills and ways to communicate even with those who were openly against him, his abilities to make changes were also noted in different years of his long career.

In 1906 Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky renewed a traditional form of monasticism with the founding of the Studites, who have a female counterpart. That year also saw the formation of a Ukrainian Province of the Redemptorists.⁸⁶

This is just an example of his abilities to make changes and leadership skills that were not left behind, even when he was about to face the spreading of dictatorship upon his Church later on in his career. Six years prior to the mentioned above event with the Studites, Sheptytsky's abilities, connections, and position led him on top of the Greek-Catholic hierarchy in Ruthenia, he was selected, confirmed, and installed on January 17, 1901 as the Metropolitan-Archbishop of Lviv.⁸⁷ He was thirty-six years old, a very young man for such a position, basically this sort of *carte blanche* in his life could be given to someone who really gained the respect of a local community despite earlier negative sentiments due to his strong Polish/Latin Rite background. After all he had proved himself during the service as a Bishop of Stanislaviv, his strong pro-Ruthenian orientation was out of the question for those who seek more autonomy, more extended rights for the Eastern Rite Catholic Church in there, and who just saw that he is the man of the future. A few years earlier, when he was a bishop, the local

⁸⁴ Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford University Press, 2012) at p. 325.

⁸⁵ J. P. Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine* at p. 134.

⁸⁶ Ken Parry, *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, (John Wiley & Sons, 2010) at p. 305.

⁸⁷ <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bszep.html>>: A website on Catholic hierarchy and its history, (updated updated 6 Dec. 2014), accessed 6 Dec. 2014.

newspaper *Dilo* was noting his strive to defend the Church in the interest of Ruthenian population of Galicia. A historian John-Paul Himka particularly focuses on this shift among Ruthenians, from suspicion to trust and respect.

Impressed by the pageantry, by the gesture to the common people, and by the sentiments expressed in the new bishop's words to the clergy, *Dilo* took a second look at Sheptytsky: "We greet with joy the declaration of the new bishop that he wants to labour for the good of the people and facilitate all honest conscientious work on their behalf. On this basis we can all, without exception, come together, whether priest or layman, whether bishop or peasant".⁸⁸

Specifically that he certainly tried to rely not upon the noble, or the ruling classes of Galicia, which were more 'Polonized' or belonged to the Latin Rite, but on the commoners that remained Greek-Catholic, if looking on his steep career from this point of view, then it becomes very obvious why he wrote such letters as the one mentioned above to Hutsul highlanders, or defended reading clubs for peasants. Now as the Metropolitan-Archbishop he could continue with the same policy toward the Church and laity with having even more power in his hands, the only hierarchical figure within the Catholic Church [of both Rites] to whom he was subordinate was the Pope himself. Interesting that during the first five to ten years of his service in Lviv, he did not forget about the Ruthenian Church abroad, particularly in Canada. He visited the Canadian-Ukrainian community [also could be called Ruthenian at that time] in 1910 by giving them words of support, sort of reconnecting it with their homeland because such an unprecedented visit was very symbolic, structural to all Ukrainians all over the world.⁸⁹ Somehow he managed to convince everybody, from common laity and clergy to politicians that his ideas or plans are worthy of looking at, and deserve to become a reality. Perhaps particularly this talent made him do so much during his pastoral career, and not only because of his noble background.

IV

Further Social and Political Activity

Of course, this work will not include only the praising of the organization discussed in here or enlightening of the figures, who represented it, the whole structure of the analysis should be as objective as possible while trying to escape any biased point of view. Certainly Andrei Sheptytsky drew some negative sentiments right from the beginning of his clerical career, and one of the cases staged on an example mentioned above, he was of Polish birth and chose to be Ruthenian/Ukrainian, eventually to become a leader of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. It was causing some uproar among both communities, and it was only the first of such moments, when Sheptytsky was caught between two fires, politically or through theology, particularly when defending the autonomy of the UGCC. Traveling around the world when pursuing these goals became an important factor in his activities, he visited Rome several times, speaking for

⁸⁸ J. P. Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine* at p. 131.

⁸⁹ Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (University of Toronto Press, 2000) at p. 549.

the Ukrainian interests and for the Ukrainian Catholic Church [another name for the UGCC], Sheptytsky somewhat played the role of an ambassador, and by using his ties in the Catholic Church tried to achieve these interests.⁹⁰ Sheptytsky's social activities may be compared to the Progressive Era in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century, he was a good representative of this progressive mindset and definitely caught up with the flow. In 1903 he established the People's Hospital Society, the Land Mortgage Bank in Lviv (1910), helped to form *Prosvita*, *Sil'skiy Hospodar*, and *Ridna Shkola* societies [all dealing with educational and peasant issues].⁹¹ All of these establishments just give a good glimpse of the range of activities that he started as a Bishop of Stanislaviv and continued to carry out as the head of the Greek-Catholic Church, but on a larger scale. In 1913 Sheptytsky made it possible so the Redemptorist Order was introduced in Galicia [Eastern Rite Galician branch], helped to create women's monasteries such as the order of the Holy Family, Studites, Mercy, St. Vincent, St. Joseph, and St. Josaphat.⁹² From the progressive oriented establishments that may have nothing to do with the Church itself or theology to clearly religious institutions such as monastic order, in every sphere of that day's Galicia there was the hand of Sheptytsky in one way or the other. It seems that all these organizational works that were done under his patronage strengthened the Ukrainian Catholic system to such an extent that it had to do something with the future survival of this Church because it enhanced the depth of its influence among common people of the given region. Possibly this is the reason why there was so much resistance in Galicia later, when the Soviet state spread its ideology in there during and after 1939. The region was better prepared to face off with the state-organized atheism, economic experiments led by the Communist party for many decades to follow, well until 1989, when the Church came from the underground and soon after the reestablishment of Ukraine as an independent country.

V

Relations with other Greek-Catholic Churches

An important move taken by the leadership of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church during the first twenty years of Sheptytsky's Metropolitanate was his diplomatic activity, and interestingly it did not avoid Russia. In 1907 and 1912 he went there and helped to establish the Russian Catholic Church, also based on the Eastern Rite tradition, something that was totally extraordinary because of the historically unfriendly position of the Russian Orthodoxy to Catholicism.⁹³ Greek-Catholic Church in Bosnia was given its own vicariate (1908) and with assistance from the Studite monks became better established in that region, this move was also supervised by Sheptytsky, as much as many bishopric appointments to the US and Canada in 1907-1912 to improve his Church within the diaspora.⁹⁴ When particularly talking about the

⁹⁰ Oleksandr Dobrzhansky, Volodymyr Staryk, *Бажаємо до України [We want to Ukraine]*, an article by Teodot Galip, *Memoirs* (Odesa, Mayak Publishing, 2008) at p. 520.

⁹¹ Ivan Katchanovski, Zenon E. Kohut, Bohdan Y. Nebesio, Myroslav Yurkevych, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine*, (Scarecrow Press, 2013) at p. 553.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 553.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 553.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 553.

Russian Catholic Church it may be noted that after the 1905 Edict of Toleration, Czar Nicholas II gave a lot of privileges to other religions, and non-Russian Orthodox denominations in the Empire, the creation of the RCC became possible, conversions were from then on punished anyway, but with much fewer penalties than before.⁹⁵ There are examples among upper classes and aristocracy, Russian philosopher Vladimir Solovyev, Father Nikolay Tolstoy, chaplain at the royal court, and Father Ivan Deubner an influential figure in the local government in Saratov, who was converted to Greek-Catholicism personally by Sheptytsky.⁹⁶ Before the Edict of Toleration in 1905, it was more difficult to convert or to remain Greek-Catholic in Russia, so right from the beginning those who did, looked at the Greek-Catholic Church in the Austro-Hungarian Galicia and its support. In 1898 Father Alexis Zerchaninov converted to the Byzantine Rite, which resulted in four years in prison, and various persecutions even though he continued to serve in his Orthodox church [parish] while remaining to be of Greek-Catholic faith, at the same time Rome denied to recognize his jurisdiction.⁹⁷ To receive some sort of recognition he went to Lviv [officially called Lemberg at that time] to see Andrei Sheptytsky and in 1905 received an establishment of the Russian Catholic eparchy under control and overview of the Lviv Metropolitanate - later on, in 1907 he gave Zerchaninov a title of Vicar-General for Kamenets and all of Russia, in 1908 Sheptytsky visited a small community of the Russian Catholics in St. Petersburg, and Moscow.⁹⁸ These establishments and moves on the side of Sheptytsky were not that simple because even after more religious toleration came about in Russia, still Catholicism and particularly its Eastern Rite branch had to be seen with dislike, it just undermined the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church, especially after looking at the fact that Austria-Hungary [and its Galicia based Ruthenian Greek-Catholic Church] and Russia were not in the best relationship. A few years later these two countries would go into an unparalleled conflict that Europe had ever seen, so Russian authorities could not see Andrei Sheptytsky as a friendly figure at all. To them, he could be the ‘agent of influence’, who worked against the major ideological stronghold of the Russian Empire, the Orthodox Church.

VI

World War I

The war broke out just a few years later and the frontline between Central Powers and Russia was going through the nearby territories, remarkably close to Galicia, eventually leading the Russian army into Lviv. The real stance of the government in Petrograd [St. Petersburg before 1914] was fully revealed when Sheptytsky was arrested by the occupying authorities and sent to Russia, first to Kyiv [then part of the Empire], later to Nizhny Novgorod, Kursk, and Suzdal, and was released only after the Provisional government took control over the Russian state in

⁹⁵ Patrick Cloutier, *Three Kings: Axis Royal Armies on the Russian Front 1941* (Lulu.com, 2012) at p. 12.

⁹⁶ Christopher Lawrence Zuger, *The Forgotten: Catholics of the Soviet Empire, from Lenin through Stalin* (Syracuse University Press, 2001) at p. 82.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82-83.

February, 1917.⁹⁹ It must be noted that prior to the war Andrei Sheptytsky was in opposition to the so-called *Russophile movement* in Galicia, a part of the Pan-Slavic movement, which believed that the Austro-Hungarian rule in Carpathians [or anywhere else where the Slavs live] should be ended by the political and possibly religious union with the Russian Czar. Certainly, after an outbreak of the real hostilities between the two empires, the Russian side could suspect Sheptytsky of being on the side of Austrians or at least anti-Orthodox forces in Galicia, and who was specifically opposing the Russophile interests in exchange for the clearly pro Ukrainian identity.¹⁰⁰ To add a few more [and an important factual base in this context] words about the Russophile movement in Galicia, it should be said that it was quite influential at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, used as an ideological instrument by the Russian government against the Austro-Hungary by giving that movement all kinds of assistance.¹⁰¹ As the result of such strong activities, the Austrian authorities began to seriously oppose the movement, so eventually many of its leaders began to escape to the Russian controlled Ukraine, particularly to Kyiv, and decided to establish the Carpatho-Russian Liberation Committee - after the occupation of Lviv in 1914 they have continued their activities in Galicia.¹⁰² Such interests among many Galician Ruthenians/Ukrainians could be well understood, they seriously believed that their Eastern Rite heritage, Slavic culture etc, were in one way or another much closer to Russia than to anyone else. Eventually, during the World War, Greek-Catholics in Galicia began to experience hits and persecutions from both sides, the Russian side thought of them in a negative way because of its strong autonomous status, clearly pro Ukrainian views, possibly with the pro-Austrian tendency, however, the Austrian side on the other hand sought to find out any Russophile influences among them, so the Church was experiencing serious pressure in the absence of its leader - Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Russian occupation of Lviv caused a lot of destruction to the system of the Greek-Catholic Church in the region [it will be felt for years to come], Austrians created internment camps over the suspicions mentioned above, it is said that 30,000 Ukrainians [many of them Greek-Catholics] and 300 Greek-Catholic priests were held in there.¹⁰³ In other words, both sides during the war did not really trust the 'Uniate cause' and either tried to control it or made attempts to get rid of it. This tendency was already mentioned in the previous chapter, the geopolitical position of the Greek-Catholic population was always somewhere in between of two civilizations, which were in a strong rivalry since 1054. Austro-Hungarian and Polish on one hand and Moscow-St. Petersburg on the other, the latter tried to reclaim Uniates as it believed they have always belonged to the 'greater Orthodox' and Pan Slavic world rooted in the Byzantine traditions. If mentioning the Russian Catholic Church in this context [supported by Andrei Sheptytsky] then it must be underlined that their mission in Russia was to be called, 'pro-Western', the one that

⁹⁹ Ivan Katchanovski, Zenon E. Kohut, Bohdan Y. Nebesio, Myroslav Yurkevych, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine*. p. 554.

¹⁰⁰ Joaquim Carvalho, *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence*, an article by Giulia Lami, *The Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine During the First Half of the 20th Century* (Edizioni Plus, 2007) at p. 241.

¹⁰¹ Ronald Grigor Suny, Michael D. Kennedy, *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*, an article by John-Paul Himka, *The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus': Icarian Flights in Almost all Directions* (University of Michigan Press, 2001) at p. 130.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁰³ Joaquim Carvalho, *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence*. p. 241.

was trying to change the belief of merely Orthodox Russia and consciously or not attempted to build the bridge with Europe - bringing together Russian history with the West.¹⁰⁴

VII

Arrest and Exile in Russia – Ukrainian Revolutionary Period

In 1915 Andrei Sheptytsky was arrested by the Russian authorities in Lviv and the Greek-Catholic Church was the direct enemy. As it was said above, he remained under arrest in various monasteries in Kursk, Nizhny Novgorod, and Suzdal, only in 1916 he was able to attend the Latin Mass in Kursk Catholic parish, additionally when he was moved to Suzdal local archbishop Alexis plainly refused to meet with him, but ironically after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 he fled the civil war to Lviv and hid there with the help of Sheptytsky.¹⁰⁵ In Lviv at that time Russian military governor saw Sheptytsky's Church and Greek-Catholics as 'renegades and apostates'.¹⁰⁶ For Andrei Sheptytsky this situation would change after February 1917, when the Czar was forced to resign and revolution has begun, the doors were opened to go back to Ukraine, which at that time started its first attempt in history to build its independent state. With the help of Natalia Ushakova [she wrote a letter to the head of the Provisional Government, Kerensky] he came to Petrograd [formerly St. Petersburg], met with local Russian Greek Catholics [Father Cieplak] and established his jurisdiction over them, and at the same time appointed Father Feodorov as an exarch in Russia.¹⁰⁷ It shows Sheptytsky's influence outside of Ukraine [and particularly Galicia], draws some picture of how important his figure was if the highest new government officials were taking care of his transfer from the exile and legalization. 1917 revolution in Russia gave way to the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine to get seriously involved in the construction of the Ukrainian state, and Sheptytsky energetically used this opportunity. The whole revolutionary process in Ukraine [and the final collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918] made it possible to create two Ukrainian republics - UNR [Ukrainian National (People's) Republic], and the ZUNR [Western Ukrainian National Republic], Andrei Sheptytsky on his side supported both when they were separated, and when they decided to unite on 22 January, 1919.¹⁰⁸ In February, 1918 when the Austro-Hungarian state was still in place he gave a speech in the House of Lords in Vienna in defense of the rights of minorities in the empire, speaking for the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which de-jure had to guarantee the recognition of the Ukrainian People's Republic with the capital in Kyiv.¹⁰⁹ Generally, after his return to Ukraine, and above all to Lviv, he managed to get involved literally in everything (politically speaking) that touched the process of Ukrainian [Galician] politics, and the Greek-Catholic Church had to play an important role in all of these events. It

¹⁰⁴ Myroslav Marynovych, *An ecumenist analyzes the history and prospects of religion in Ukraine* (Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 2004) at p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ Christopher Lawrence Zuger, *The Forgotten: Catholics of the Soviet Empire, from Lenin through Stalin*. pp. 96-97.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁸ Joaquim Carvalho, *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence*. p. 242.

¹⁰⁹ Ivan Katchanovski, Zenon E. Kohut, Bohdan Y. Nebesio, Myroslav Yurkevych, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine*. p. 554.

raised the level of UGCC because its leader was involved in the political activity of the day. During the revolutionary period and later in between the two World Wars because of the prestige of the Greek-Catholic Church, the role of Andrei Sheptytsky was somewhat close to being an unofficial president, or an ambassador of Ukrainians [particularly Galicians] due to the lack of permanent Ukrainian government [UNR, ZUNR periods] or an independent state [after the fall of ZUNR].¹¹⁰ When Western Ukrainian People's Republic ceased to exist in 1919 due to the strong Polish advances [similar faith happened with Ukrainian People's Republic in Kyiv when it was finally captured by the Bolsheviks also the same year], Sheptytsky literally acted as an ambassador without official diplomatic post. In 1923 he personally met with the French Premier Raymond Poincare in order to defend and negotiate a larger autonomy to Galicia within the new Polish State, but without any success.¹¹¹ Also, in 1920 he went to Rome, North and South America to get more support from the Curia and consolidate Ukrainians in the diaspora, after coming back he was arrested by Polish authorities in 1923 in Poznan, however, released and returned to Lviv the next year merely after the petition written by Pope Pius XI.¹¹²

One important factor should be underlined to make further terminology more clear, after the (1917-1921, UNR and ZUNR) attempts to construct an independent state, terms such as *Ruthenian* or *Rusyn* began to escape the regional lexicon and were almost fully replaced with the term *Ukrainian*, [except Transcarpathia where regional *Rusyns* still see themselves as slightly different from the rest of Ukrainians, similar to some Bavarians and the rest of Germans today]. Other sub-ethnic groups (close to *Rusyns*) in the Carpathian region such as Hutsuls, Lemko, Boyko, or Pokuttians [recall an above mentioned Sheptytsky's letter to Hutsuls] still distinguish their cultures, but see themselves as part of the larger Ukrainian nationhood.¹¹³ Latter groups refer particularly to the Western Ukrainian region, strongly influenced by the Greek-Catholic Church, and Sheptytsky who was the Metropolitan, acted a huge role in solidifying the greater *Ukrainian* identity in that region. This mission was carried out before the First World War and the Ukrainian attempts to build a unified state, during that period and further on at the time of an Interwar era too. In 1928 he founded the Greek-Catholic Theological Academy, which served as the regional [in Galicia] center for education for all Galician Ukrainians, simply it should not be the religious institution alone.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ John-Paul Himka, James T. Flynn, James P. Niessen, *Religious Compromise, Political Salvation: The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-building in Eastern Europe*, an article by John-Paul Himka, *The Greek Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Nation in Galicia* (Center for Russian & East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1993) at p. 17.

¹¹¹ Ivan Katchanovski, Zenon E. Kohut, Bohdan Y. Nebesio, Myroslav Yurkevych, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine*. p. 750.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 554.

¹¹³ Andrew Evans, Massimiliano Di Pasquale, *Ukraine* (Bradt Travel Guides, 2013) at p. 230.

¹¹⁴ John-Paul Himka, James T. Flynn, James P. Niessen, *Religious Compromise, Political Salvation*. at p. 17.

VIII

Interwar Period up to 1930s

During an Interwar period the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine [mainly in Galicia] was in a better position than the Orthodox [mainly Volhynia] when speaking about the Polish held Western Ukraine, and both were doing far better if comparing it with the Church [primarily Orthodox] in the Soviet-controlled part of Ukraine. First, the Greek-Catholic Church was after all Catholic and as before was in a more ‘protected’ position in Catholic Poland, moreover, Andrei Sheptytsky was always seen by the Polish authorities and ruling classes as someone close to them through his strongly ‘Polonized’ gentry birth.¹¹⁵ It significantly assisted him in securing his position and therefore the Church could have more authority. Mostly Orthodox Volhynia, Polissia, and Podlachia were part of the Russian Empire before 1917, and the Church in there [and other Western Ukrainian regions including Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia] was certainly more associated with the previously influential Russophile movement. Thus, in 1924 it established an autocephaly with its own Metropolitan [Dionizy] in Warsaw, but still did not get a lot of respect from the Polish authorities, between 1929 and 1938 about 209 churches were destroyed, 111 closed, 150 turned into Roman Catholic [not given to the Uniates].¹¹⁶ It seems that the Greek-Catholic and Andrei Sheptytsky’s side did not act any role in these prosecutions or as it was called the ‘revindication campaigns’ because on its own it was not all favorable and tried to co-exist with the Roman Catholic government of Poland. In Soviet Ukraine, the Orthodox Church was completely de-legalized by the Communist government and experienced one of the worst horrors that could be imagined since Nero’s persecution of Christians. This time Andrei Sheptytsky had no influence or even a hint of an influence in that part of Ukraine, and could not assist the Russian Catholic Church too [or Ukrainian Greek-Catholics that could remain in the region], the Soviet part of Ukraine as the rest of USSR was totally sealed by the *iron curtain*.

Just for a quick note, it may be interesting to say that the Russophile movement did not disappear during the Interwar period and existed in both Galicia and Volhynia and was represented by such organizations as the Russian Agrarian Party or the Russian Peasant Party, all were in one way or another connected to the old Ruthenian Russophile organizations such as the Stauropegial Institute and the National Home.¹¹⁷ However, an old belief that Ruthenians should identify themselves with Russians in Russia was extremely small, it was totally subdued by the Ukrainian self-identification. It must be said that Andrei Sheptytsky at that time and before was in defense of the Ukrainian identity of Galicians, Volhynians, smaller or larger groups such as Hutsuls in Galicia, etc. He tried to manage the Church and Ukrainians while balancing between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic sides in Poland of that time. Starting with the 1930s some Ukrainians began to use violent methods to secure their autonomy [OUN - Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] and Sheptytsky had to stand in the middle, on one side he defended the Ukrainian autonomy and cultural identity in Poland, and on the other hand

¹¹⁵ Paul R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (University of Toronto Press, 1996) at p. 596.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 596.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 593.

he denied violent or terroristic methods to achieve such goals.¹¹⁸ He was more favorable toward the strength of his institution and was always closer to the diplomatic solutions. In 1925 Poland and Vatican have signed the Concordat, which made the Greek-Catholic Church equal to Latin Rite, however, in reality, things still remained to be problematic, Roman Church in Poland kept on refusing to understand the fact of equality.¹¹⁹ At the same time Sheptytsky tried to defend the Orthodox Church against the policy of ‘revindication’, or the Latinization campaigns, stood for them, and also went against the pro-Western (Latin) tendency within his own Church, particularly when it came to the tradition of celibacy.¹²⁰ Greek-Catholic Church was strong in support of the ‘married priests’ within the *white clergy*, something that exists in the Orthodox Churches since the Byzantine times, so this factor caused a lot of tension with the pro-Latin element, but the latter did not achieve any serious goals.

IX

1930s

Andrei Sheptytsky and the Greek-Catholic Church had a strong anti-Soviet sentiment, especially when more information about the artificial famines of 1932-33 began to spread in the Polish controlled Ukraine. Openly horrible atheistic strategies against any religion, deportations of the Orthodox clergy, for example, the Greek-Catholic Church strongly condemned the arrest of Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church V.K. Lypkivs’kyj [Soviet Ukraine], and Sheptytsky did not hide his position on what was taking place. Historian Giulia Lami quotes Sheptytsky’s letter from 1936 in her article *The Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine During the First Half of the 20th Century*, and it may be good to cite it in here as well.

Twenty years of experience have hitherto clearly shown that when the Bolsheviks speak about freedom, they mean slavery; when they speak about prosperity, they use this word to mean famine; when they speak about soviets they mean a system in which no one is allowed to speak their mind; when they speak about the power of peasantry, they mean a system in which the peasant is forced to work without pay... and when they speak about the power of proletariat, they bestow the proletariat name upon a caste that has been bleeding the people white...¹²¹

When the Soviets came to western Ukraine in September 1939, this position of Andrei Sheptytsky and his Church was not forgotten by them. The full-scale prosecution against him, the Church, and his family began, the real testing for what he managed to solidify in terms of the Church structure and society in Galicia [and partially his influence in other parts of the Ukraine’s west] could not be avoided. Period from now on [1939] will be discussed in other chapters, including the last five years of Andrei Sheptytsky, but certain aspects of these years were and will be mentioned here too.

¹¹⁸ Joaquim Carvalho, *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence*. p. 243.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 243-244.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 244-245.

Soon after the Soviet occupation started, Sheptytsky decided to appoint exarchs for various parts of Ukraine and beyond [including Russia and Siberia where he appointed his brother Klymentiy], moreover, he secretly consecrated his successor, the rector of the Lviv Theological Academy Josyf Slipyj.¹²² No matter how dangerous and difficult was the new regime, Sheptytsky hoped to use even this opportunity to unite his Church with the Orthodox Churches in other regions of Ukraine that were now united with Galicia, generally he was a promoter of the united national Church of Ukraine under the supervision of Greek-Catholics [plus the union with Rome for the Orthodox in the lands that were part of the Soviet Ukraine before 1939].¹²³ It seems that this was the major goal, which possibly he did not hope to fulfill during his lifetime, but certainly wished to continue in this direction. Himself Andrei Sheptytsky wrote that despite all the persecutions and terror on the side of the new regime, still it was somewhat cautious when dealing with the Greek-Catholics.¹²⁴ Additionally, the Soviet authorities were at some point close to their predecessors from the Russian imperial government at making attempts to do just the opposite of what Sheptytsky has planned, they wanted to liquidate the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine by uniting it with the Orthodox Church, and during the first Soviet occupation period this tension between the state and Greek-Catholics was not resolved yet.¹²⁵ In 1941 the whole situation completely changed due to the Nazi occupation, and Sheptytsky was supposed to maneuver under another sort of genocidal regime. Many critics say that he did nothing to save the Jews between 1941-1944, however, even the strongest of them usually underline that he was a big sympathizer of the Jewish religion, and had a friendly stance with it.¹²⁶ His famous pastoral letter “Don’t Kill” or “Thou Shalt not Kill” from 1942 where he asks his fellow Ukrainians not to participate in any violence against the Jews, hid Ezechiel Levi [the rabbi of Lviv] in his palace, and used monasteries to give asylum to many other Jews.¹²⁷ This particular issue will be discussed further on in this work.

Generally saying Andrei Sheptytsky built an enormously powerful system in the face of the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine and himself went into history even before his death in 1944. What really makes him unique is the ability to fulfill so many of his plans and at the same time survive under any occupational regime without hiding his beliefs. His role in bringing enough strength to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church is extremely important because all the turbulence was not enough to destroy him or his organization. As it was said before, Andrei Sheptytsky was the major figure and reason that made the Greek-Catholic cause *survivable*, and prone to being very resilient.

¹²² Ivan Katchanovski, Zenon E. Kohut, Bohdan Y. Nebesio, Myroslav Yurkevych, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine*. p. 554.

¹²³ Joaquim Carvalho, *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence*. p. 245.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 245-246.

¹²⁶ <http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206020.pdf>: Shoah resource center, Yad Vashem, (updated 14 Dec. 2014), accessed 14 Dec. 2014.

¹²⁷ Joaquim Carvalho, *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence*. p. 247.

1939-1941: First Soviet Occupation

The region where the UGCC was the biggest Christian denomination, and religion. First serious encounter with the state of purely atheistic orientation. How did it adapt to the new environment? Why did Communist authorities did not begin a complete annulment of the Church structure during that period?

I

World War II begins – September 1 and Galicia

The following period should be explored with a lot of care and accuracy because at this point the whole structure of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church began its survival under the Soviet domination on all of its jurisdictional territories except for those that remained in the hands of diaspora in other countries. Western Ukraine and the Greek-Catholic Church did experience various invasions in the past, but this time everything seemed to be different, first because of the totality of the war, and second due to the ruthlessness of both sides, Nazi Germany and the USSR. In 1939 they decided to be allies, the liquidation of Poland and with it the Soviet incorporation of western Volhynia and eastern Galicia became that point where two totalitarian regimes found a common ground for the alliance.¹²⁸ Everything that was taking place in Nazi Germany came to Poland, and western Ukraine eventually met with everything that was carried out by the Soviet regime in the Ukrainian SSR. On October 22, 1939, the new government decided to carry out the elections [four days later] with a lot of help from resident communists and activists (delegates) from the Soviet Ukraine in order to unite western Ukraine with the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.¹²⁹ Certainly, the whole process was pressured by the Red Army's administration and the general objectivity or legality of this political action may be seriously questioned. It is widely noted that in 1939 the Red Army or other Soviet corresponding bodies had clear orders not to touch the Greek-Catholic Church, they were afraid to break up the centuries-old order of things, especially in Galicia where this Church was primarily strong.¹³⁰ For example, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky wrote about this factor, -

They treated us with a caution that was greater than we could have hoped.¹³¹

Even the most vigorous and totalitarian regimes as it seems sometimes do not attack their ideological enemies right from the start, but wait until their power and strength roots in, and merely after that make more attempts to destroy these ideologies. The same case as it

¹²⁸ Paul R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (University of Toronto Press, 1983) at p. 205.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

¹³⁰ United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations, *The Genocide Convention: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session, on Executive O, the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950) at p. 349.

¹³¹ Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939-1950)*, (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1996) at p. 57.

appears was taking place with the UGCC, especially when it was still guided by the popularity of Andrei Sheptytsky. Social and economic systems that existed in the western Ukraine before 1939 simply could not co-exist with the Marxist/Leninist based USSR [especially under the rule of Joseph Stalin, who did not care much about any obstacles even if they were stubborn and resentful]. In September 1939 the Greek-Catholic Church possessed a lot of property and had powerful roots in the western Ukrainian society, and particularly in Galicia, the Soviet government could not pursue everything.

In 1939, when Polish-ruled western Ukraine was annexed to the Soviet Union, it had four million members, served by 2,500 priests and 4,119 churches.¹³²

Definitely, it meant that the Church was economically self-sufficient, was strongly connected to the outside world, and it's widely known that the Soviet state could not except any relations beyond the *iron curtain*. The country was immediately turning into a closed totalitarian structure, and the UGCC was getting its connections to the Vatican and diaspora snapped away without any plans to reopen them. Simply the structure of the UGCC was too incompatible with the USSR, it was supported by local communities, anti-atheistic, with many relations outside of the latter state. Just everything that the USSR was not, thus, they had to collide, however, the structural strength of the Church was to be faced with caution and a slow process of political or theological dissolution. It seems that in 1939 the Soviet authorities did not feel themselves in total control over the annexed territories. As Josyf Slipyj [future Metropolitan of the UGCC., since 1944] noted in his memoirs, when he was interrogated by the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] in the late 1940s.

Once Goryun [one of the interrogators., O.K.] told me that in 1939 NKVD did not make arrests among the clergy because they did not acquire the full victory.¹³³

Maybe here that is possible to presuppose that the Soviet Union was getting ready for another war and simply did not have time to establish its total control over the western Ukrainian Greek-Catholics, and their organization. Nevertheless, the pressure started right from the beginning [September 17, 1939] when the Red Army occupied western Ukraine and Josyf Slipyj wrote in his retellings of the following weeks and months.

The Church was obliged to pay unbearable taxes, above all ten times more for the electricity, so churches used candles. I was burdened by many taxes, and when I have paid it, then they gave another one. They [authorities., O.K.] keep sending various check-up commissions, and it was necessary to sell goods in order to get rid of a problem., Nobody slept in their homes, everyone hid in their work cabinets and had to sleep on the office tables or floors and listened during the night whether the "black raven" [slang for police cars at that time., O.K] did not arrive near the house.¹³⁴

¹³² Jonathan Luxmoore, Jolanta Babiuch, *The Vatican and the Red Flag: The Struggle for the Soul of Eastern Europe*, (Continuum International Publishing Group, 2000) at p. 39.

¹³³ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, ed. by Ivan Datsko, Maria Goryacha, (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv-Rome, 2014) at p. 161., [translated by me].

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

The regime of terror and pressure from the secret [political] police, oversight, confiscations including over-taxation were planned by the authorities in order to break up the Church, make it bend, and lose the ground. At that time aging Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was taking decisions about who will head the Church after him and had proposed his position to Josyf Slipyj [at that time rector of the Lviv Theological Seminary], in December, 1939 with an agreement from Pope Pius XII Sheptytsky ordained him as an Archbishop of Serrae and Coadjutor Archbishop of Lviv.¹³⁵ History will show that this decision was absolutely right because future Metropolitan-Archbishop Josyf Slipyj would not break down even after eighteen years in jails or exiles.

At the end of 1939 Andrei Sheptytsky began to understand that the Soviets will not arrest him, and therefore took the decision to organize *Sobor.*, the Council, which is going to help to consolidate the Greek-Catholic Church, give hope to its clergy, and show laity that no matter what is taking place, still it functions under the pressure. Active Metropolitan was preparing materials, decrees, orders and the whole work of the Council was full of reflections of his whole life and deep thoughts.¹³⁶ In 1939 it was still possible for the UGCC to function as an institution, clergy was in some way not touched by the system for the above-mentioned reason, it was too popular among the people, especially in Galicia. Old Soviet archives open up a lot of information on this matter, and according to their information by 1940 up to 95% of all Galician Ukrainians belonged to the Greek-Catholic Church.¹³⁷ Certainly, such numbers made the new government think more than once before they could attempt any serious move against this organization. Moreover, unlike other parts of Ukraine, the region of Galicia was almost completely foreign to the rule of Moscow [or previously St. Petersburg during the Imperial period], so the factor of a cultural difference or misunderstanding on how to proceed could slow down the process of repressions, but of course did not stop it.

II

The Situation of Galicia – First steps of the Soviet Government

Different recollections of information show that Eastern Poland before the occupation [Volhynia, Galicia] was one of the poorest in Europe, however, to the Red Army's soldiers it was much higher in terms of material wealth than their home, the freedom of religion did exist despite such campaigns as the 'revindication' against the Orthodox in Volhynia.¹³⁸ Religious practices throughout the Soviet Union were strongly prosecuted, the warlike atheism was the only way to treat religion. Moreover, many Soviet citizens who went to subdue the western Ukrainian [before 1939 Eastern Poland] territories could not pass by the fact that the land did

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 137.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 137-138.

¹³⁷ Self made accounts by the former General secretary of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union V. Tsalevych about activity of the UGCC and other denominations in western Ukraine, *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.12.-pp. 26-114. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. С-9113.-Т.12.-Арк. 26-114.]*, [translated by me].

¹³⁸ Christopher Lawrence Zuger, *The Forgotten: Catholics of the Soviet Empire from Lenin Through Stalin*, (Syracuse University Press, 2001) at p. 285.

not experience forced labor, concentration camps, purges on the scale that was taking place in the rest of the USSR at that time. Economic difference [on an everyday basis] was probably the most noticeable and was extremely obvious to both sides.

Soviet women appeared at the opera in nightgowns; Soviet soldiers bought up stores' up whole stocks of sausage, bread, and fruit to send home, with exclamations of not having seen such things ever or or at least not in a very long time. In conversations with Red soldiers, Russian-speaking Ukrainians and Poles in Lviv discovered that many thought oranges were made in factories, and that Greta Garbo was the name of a factory item.¹³⁹

At this point let's make an assumption that these issues simply backed down the destructive system possibly because it wanted to use the moment, or let's say feed off the land, which was possessing something they did not. Particularly this presumption may be applicable to those, who did not plan the new internal policy in Moscow, but to those who went directly into western Ukraine and wanted to wait [and use these everyday opportunities] until the new system breaks the old customs apart. The same may be related not only to the fact that collective farms did not yet destroy the market economy in Galicia and Volhynia, and people as the Red Army soldiers could find oranges in stores, but also to political and ideological issues. The Greek-Catholic Church was put under pressure, but at the same time no serious arrests among the heads of the hierarchy were carried out [but they did take place within the lower level priesthood], its leader called for *Sobor* [Council] without asking anyone in the new administration. The anti-religious campaign was limited to propaganda about the 'destiny of religion' under the Communist state, and vandalism of shrines or religious attributes in public, for example, crucifixes in school classrooms have quickly disappeared, generally the whole educational system was immediately secularized and Marxism-Leninism became the only ideological imperative.¹⁴⁰ New authorities acted as true occupiers and victors, who did not respect the local customs, but could not liquidate them yet as a whole, and used every economic opportunity they could find.

Soviet commissars, officers, and ordinary soldiers were billeted in private homes and apartments, sometimes occupying entire blocks of residences, creating refugees everywhere. Furniture, factory machinery, electrical systems, livestock, even pet dogs were hauled away in trucks and trains to the Communist Motherland, which obviously was out of everything.¹⁴¹

The author of this work may give an example from his own family's experience. My grandfather was born in a small Ukrainian town which belongs to Poland today [Helm or Holm region in Eastern Poland], on the other hand, grandmother came from Siberia, both are mother's parents. Once my grandmother told a story about one event in her life. Soon after WWII, her family was moved from Siberia to Ukraine since their father was a military surgeon-major, who after his return from the frontlines was transferred to a new location. My grandmother was around twelve when she saw an apple for the first time when she came to Ukraine, grandfather

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 285.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 285, 287.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 285-286.

who grew up in western Ukraine even during the most difficult times during the war always underlined that they have grown them in their country house. Technically, such real-life stories about the difference in life between the Soviet Union and newly acquired territories may give a lot of hints. Soviet authorities planned to build Communism where the economic levels were much higher than in the lands where Communist ideology ruled for more than twenty years. Such issues once again just by the fact of their existence could slow down the process of changes, and therefore save many aspects of life including the Church.

Soviet documents of that time portray many peculiar issues that were previously unknown. For example, just two days before the entrance of the Soviet troops into the western Ukraine (September 17, 1939), on September 15 the chief of the Soviet Internal Affairs Commissariat [NKVD], Lavrenty Beria wrote a directive to the local operative groups of NKVD that were supposed to carry out various tasks in the newly taken territories.

Try to distance from confiscations of fodder and food from the locals. All necessary fodder and food should be purchased from the locals using cash, Soviet rubles, by telling the population that the rate of a ruble is equal to the rate of zloty (Polish currency., O.K.). Arrest the most reactionary representatives of the governing administrations, leaders of the local police, gendarmes, border patrol and branches of the Second department of the General Staff [Polish Army., O.K.], governors and their closest aides, leaders of the counter-revolutionary parties...¹⁴²

These orders may show that general tendency in the beginning of the occupation, the Soviets tried to attack the former Polish administration and political rivals first, wanted to look humane and fair with the local population, primarily villagers, the Church was not mentioned as the subject of liquidation. The real confiscation of property did take place as it was noted on the page before, when mentioning ‘the hauling of furniture, factory machinery, electrical systems and livestock’, and it seems that secret directives from the above did not work all the time. Soviet authorities understood that first, it will take propaganda, economic pressure, and surveillance before they could take out the Greek-Catholic Church out from the social life.

III

Greek-Catholic Clergy and its Position

Many archival documents show dossiers with biographical information on Bishops, Prelates, priests, and of course Andrei Sheptytsky himself. Certainly, NKVD [additionally it should be noted that this Commissariat incorporated many branches which included secret police, intelligence, counter-intelligence, and even traffic police etc.,] wanted to build the political case against many leaders of the Church and the following retrieval from the document clearly underlines this direction.

¹⁴² An extract from the NKVD (USSR) directive #20177 in regards to the activities of the NKVD operational groups on the territories of western Ukraine and Belarus, September 15, 1939, *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register. 32 (1951.-Ref. 33.- p. 10-15. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он. 32 (1951. - Сп. 33.- Арк. 10-15.], [translated by me].*

I have found that the above listed people are active participants and leaders of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union, lead anti Soviet activities, and by that use religion. [Followed by the Resolution-Order., O.K.], All the above mentioned figurants must be incorporated into the undercover case named “Hodyachie” [“Walkers”., O.K.].¹⁴³

Besides mentioning Sheptytsky the list goes through such names as Leontiy Kunytsky, priest and prelate, Ivan Buchko, bishop, Nykyta Budka, bishop, Oleksandr Kovalskyj, priest and prelate, Vasyly Laba, canonic, Anton Kashtanyuk, priest. All of these clerics were standing very close to the Metropolitan himself, had a lot of influence in the UGCC, and were viewed as the most ‘dangerous’ in terms of the counter Soviet activity. There is evidence from the document mentioned before - Self-made accounts by the former General secretary of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union V. Tsalevych, - that authorities wanted to use Metropolitan’s connections to the Polish nobility, particularly his brothers who remained ‘Polish’ by self-identification and Roman Catholic to compromise the head of the UGCC; also there is some information about his personal wealth, and presumably it was supposed to be used as an incriminating evidence too.

Metropolitan is keeping connections with his brothers and relatives, they often visit him, and there are rumors that he financially supports them. If it was possible to prove that metropolitan provides material help from the income he retrieves from the farms that belong to Metropolia to his Roman Catholic relatives, then it could undermine his authority among Ukrainians..., Lviv Uniate [UGCC., O.K.] Metropolia possesses large estates, around 20 thousand hectares of woods in the Carpathian Mountains, which provided metropolitan with a lot of income - more than half a million zloty annually.¹⁴⁴

V. Tsalevych [former General secretary of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union] was someone who knew the situation from within and may be called a traitor to the UGCC or an agent to NKVD, who decided to co-work with the Soviet authorities, he was personally suggesting on how to proceed with the *Uniate* Church, gave advice and of course told who is who in the hierarchy. Such personalities were particularly important to the NKVD organization in order to later build criminal/political cases against the most important religious figures because, at that time, the new authorities were still not that well informed, they were simply new in the area. Above all these sorts of accounts should not be always seen as truthful insider information because in many situations people as V. Tsalevych were trying to ‘show off’ before the new authorities out of fear, revenge against their former friends, or under torture. Particularly if it comes to accusations or attempts to put the old friends behind bars in the Soviet prison or get them executed, notably these methods were widely practiced by the Soviet security system for years before it was introduced in the Ukraine’ West. In the account by V. Tsalevych it's possible to see that he openly accuses Sheptytsky of having material possessions,

¹⁴³ Resolution of the Second division of the State Security Department of the NKVD for the Lviv region regarding the undercover case “Hodyachie” [“Walkers”] against metropolitan of the UGCC Andrei Sheptytsky and other figures, September 21, 1939, *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.11.-p. 10. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.11.-Арк.10.]*, [translated by me].

¹⁴⁴ Self made accounts by V. Tsalevych, *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.12.-pp. 26-114. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.12.-Арк. 26-114.]*, [translated by me].

something that had to be outlawed by the Soviet authorities; starting with 1939 peasants who resentfully did not want to give up their private land and join the collective farms were deprived of them and were forcefully collectivized.¹⁴⁵

IV

Social Situation – Relations between Galicians and the new Government

Now it should be recalled that some people including many social and political activists, who belonged to the Greek-Catholic Church welcomed the *union* with the rest of Ukraine in 1939. Before it was said that Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky himself sought to somehow participate in the life of other Ukrainian territories with the help of his Church, however, such ideas were certainly very naive. For instance, the former prime minister of the People's Western Ukrainian Republic Kost' Levytsky met the Soviets and before that talked to them in Vienna [most likely without any strong sentiments], and although quickly noticed that he is bothered by thoughts about the Church because if it did not exist before, then there could be nothing to liberate, said Josyf Slipyj in his memoirs.¹⁴⁶ Probably Levytsky welcomed the fact that all Ukrainian people will be unified, no matter under whose protectorate, moreover, his sentiments about 'nothing to liberate, refers to the Greek-Catholic tradition itself, which for centuries protected Ukrainian/Ruthenian culture from 'Latinization' or 'polonization'. This belief in the 'Greek-Catholic autonomous cap' existed for a long time and certainly may not be out of common sense. These notions existed among many people in western Ukraine, but most likely merely because they did not fully understand what was to come later. Josyf Slipyj once again said in his memoirs the fact that further on in his life, he encountered the notion among many interrogating officers that they [Soviet authorities] did not really want to prosecute Greek-Catholics because there was no full victory.

Later during interrogations and in courts the NKVD curators said that they were not touching the Church and priests besides some of them because there was no full victory. However, already during the first occupation NKVD was calling priest for questioning. Back then they were proposing the bishopric seat to Father Kostelnik, the same way they have proposed to the protonotary Badenyj and came to Father Melnyk.¹⁴⁷

These propositions meant that the Soviet government planned to promote them seats in the Russian Orthodox Church and by such means nullify the existence of the Greek-Catholic tradition of the *union* with Rome. Nevertheless, these plans were not going extremely far until 1944, but they already existed and Josyf Slipyj's accounts definitely witness it. On September 17, 1939, Soviet troops came from the East, and not only former prime-minister Levytsky came out to talk to them and certainly without any sympathy, he was merely a good diplomat, but people on the streets.

¹⁴⁵ Christopher Lawrence Zuger, *The Forgotten: Catholics of the Soviet Empire from Lenin Through Stalin*, p. 287.

¹⁴⁶ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, pp. 138, 411.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138. [citation translated by me.,].

Feared folk accepted them even with bread and salt [old Ukrainian ceremonial tradition carried out in public, usually by women wearing traditional ethnic dress., O.K.], even though anti bolshevik sentiments in the villages were very strong. Nobody before that could factually foresee the bolshevik storm, merely Father Kostelnyk wrote furious articles against the modern Chingiz Khan.¹⁴⁸

The factor of fear or just sheer cautiousness, which often represents the reaction of common people in the occupied cities often varies, sometimes it projects to cheers, sometimes cries, or simple disappearance from the streets as it happened in Paris in 1940. Once again many thought that the friendly ritual of ‘bread and salt’ may protect them [of fear as it was noted by Josyf Slipyj], possibly some believed similar to Andrei Sheptytsky, the reality of unification with the rest of Ukraine came true, but truly nothing friendly was awaiting for the Greek-Catholic Church, and definitely any other religious institution too. During and after September 17, 1939, many people from Poland began to flee to Lviv, the city which everyone hoped could cover them from the advancing Nazi forces, and certainly it related to Jews. By the end of the year the city’s population grew from 333,500 up to 500,000, Poles from the Galician countryside also felt more safe in there due to its large Polish population, additionally, a lot of Soviet soldiers and officers were from then on residing in Lviv.¹⁴⁹ Polish population was treated as the ‘minority nation’, something that was associated with the *Panska Polska* or the bourgeois Poland, which was seen as the enemy during the 1920s and 1930s Soviet Union because of its pro-capitalist orientation, the principle of *Polska Ludowa* or the people’s Poland was not recognized by the Soviet propaganda.¹⁵⁰ They did not acquire any self-governing rights, cultural issues were not in favor and tens of thousands were prosecuted by the new regime, many were deported to the labor camps in the eastern parts of Russia.¹⁵¹ At first, it is obvious [if looking at statistics] that the Soviet government tried to put Ukrainians on top of the educational and professional spheres, which previously was dominated by the Polish professors or specialists. Many formerly Polish schools were transferred to the Ukrainian language, and generally by 1941, the above-mentioned policy led to a lot of drastic changes within the academic circles. In the major Ivan Franko State University the proportion of professors became 40% Ukrainian and 40% percent Poles, even though the total amount consisted of 52 Poles, 22 Ukrainians, and 8 Jews - more Jews and Ukrainians could enroll as the university students.¹⁵² For another example, at the end of 1939 the Ivan Franko State University had 77,9% Polish students, Ukrainians, and Jews went up to 12,9%, by 1941 out of 1617 students 540 were Ukrainians, [33,4%], 362 Poles [22,4%], 715 Jews [44,2%].¹⁵³ Therefore, many saw certain positive changes for the Ukrainian and Jewish side, but definitely, it did not touch the former majority of Lviv, which was dominated by Poles before and during the Second Polish Republic. People could see some positive sides to the regime changes, and

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 134-135. [citation translated by me.,].

¹⁴⁹ Timothy Snyder, Raymond Brandon, *Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953*, an article by Christoph Mick, *Lviv under Soviet Rule, 1939-1941*, (Oxford University Press, 2014) at p. 147.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 142.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 144.

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 144-145.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 145.

the Soviets certainly wanted to use it. Possibly they wanted to endorse some pro-Ukrainian motivation against the old domination on the side of the Poles, but anyway, these maneuvers were clearly unfair, and to a good degree populist. Communist rule wanted to drag most of the western Ukrainian population, which was Ukrainian by ethnicity on its side. However, these policies did not touch religion, human rights, and democracy. A particular subject of this study, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church did not see anything good with the regime's anti-religious position, especially against the *uniates* that were meant to be either completely destroyed or blended with the Russian Orthodox Church [the policy continued with much more pressure after 1944]. More archival information should reveal the real plans and positioning of the Soviet government during the first occupation [as it is now known], and if to be more accurate, its main instrument of surveillance, arrests, and interrogation, the NKVD. These documents show cold precision, military order, and strengths of the organized system that tossed nations, religions, and ordinary people without thinking what they all may think about it in the future.

V

Secularization Attempts and Social Reaction

Secularizations or taking of the Church land could not be understood by the people, who were always very religious and simply could not accept foreigners [even if it included Ukrainians from the East or Center] do these violations against them. In one of the special letters written by the head of all Ukrainian NKVD to his superior in Moscow and the Communist party leadership in Kyiv, telling of the people's rising in return for the confiscations of the monastery's property.

On January 11, 1940 in the village of Mykhailivka, Borsh'evskiy district, Ternopil' region due to politically incorrect moves of some party activists from the former Borsh'evskiy District Committee of KP(b)U [Communist party of Ukraine., O.K.), an "uprising" of the churchmen took place.... After arriving to Mykhailivka, Gavrilenko [party activist., O.K.) had immediately carried out the nationalization of the monastery's property, eviction of the monks and ihumen from their rooms. When the process of removal took place the church bells gathered about 500 people, which broke into the building where Gavrilenko and members of the Committee where located. They were taken to the yard and searched in case of they had anything what belongs to the monastery.... During the search of a member of the Committee, Moroz Ivan used a small-caliber rifle and shot Vaysarovich Pavel and damaged his fur coat sleeve. This circumstance had angered the crowd even further, and as a result all the members of the Committee were beaten nearly to death, Gavrilenko was hit just a few times, and later was walked through the village from 6-7 hours.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Special notification from the Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine I. Serov to the NKVD (USSR) and Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine about an uprising of the local villagers in Mykhailivka, Ternopil region because of the nationalization [confiscation] of the monastery's property. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register. 33 (year 1951).-Case. 11.-pp. 182-186. [ДА СБ України.-Ф. 16.-Он.33 (1951 р.).-Сnp. 11.-Арк. 182-186.], [translated by me].*

Eventually, the above-mentioned activist Gavrilenko was removed from his post and even accused of heavy drinking while doing all sorts of provocative actions including the wild shooting from his revolver. Authorities tried to restrict their men at that time by at least trying to look after them in one way or another, and in this situation, they have imposed other party recruits to replace Gavrilenko. Everything was escalating through actions of this kind that first were sporadic, but later on turned into something that may be called ‘the systematic uprooting of religion’ in the newly controlled regions of western Ukraine. It certainly could not be accepted by the UGCC, other denominations that were also under the pressure, and common people, who saw this as the worst anti-humanitarian acts of violence anyone could imagine. Certainly, this was not seen by the Greek-Catholics because they have experienced a lot of religious freedom in Austro-Hungary and the Second Polish Republic, it did not relate to all denominations such as the Orthodox Church in Volhynia, which did see the above-mentioned program of ‘revindication’, but not the Greek-Catholic Church. Moreover, their Church property did not go to another Church [let’s say the Latin Rite Catholics], but was taken to the state. It was completely unbelievable, and even if party activists as Gavrilenko could be removed, and even punished, still it did not change that general attitude because the whole problem did not disappear. It was only the beginning of it all, especially if mentioning the high clergy that so far was not seriously touched by the NKVD or the party system. The real grip of the Soviet authorities over the newly annexed territories began to worsen by the 1940, and more men were deported as the “enemies of the people” to the remotest regions of the Soviet Union, and it should not be forgotten that not only Greek-Catholics did experience these issues. In Volhynia alone, one out of seven Poles became arrested, interrogated, or just shot, totally it is estimated that closer to 1941 up to four hundred thousand Poles were deported from the annexed territories [starting with September 1939].¹⁵⁵ Economically none of these Soviet experiments could be seen or get used as compensation for the discrimination of religion, mass deportations, and sheer and totally unmotivated violence as it was seen on Gavrilenko's example.

If there were any economic advantages to the Soviet modernizing experiment, they were not felt Peremyshliany between 1939 and 1941. The town remained economically behind and became even more unstable than before.¹⁵⁶

The same author also noted that the rulers from Moscow did not have enough people [and probably time] with them to spread around the newly acquired territories, and surely words recalled by Josyf Slipyj told him by the NKVD interrogator sound quite objective, they did not gain total victory yet. All the powers, which divided Poland following the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, certainly did not get the full victory and were getting ready to fight each other in another much worse conflict. All of them did not want an independent Ukraine as much as they did not want to see a revived Poland or any independent religious organization including the Catholic Church of both Rites. For instance, in Hungarian Carpatho-Ukraine [annexed by the collaborationist Hungary] there were no anti-religious campaigns [at least against Christian

¹⁵⁵ Wendy Lower, *The Diary of Samuel Golfard and the Holocaust in Galicia*, (Rowman Altamira, 2011) at p. 37.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

denominations], but people could be equally unhappy and angry at the Hungarian occupational government.¹⁵⁷ Soviets concentrated upon collectivization, social experiments in destroying the Church and religion in general, and certainly the mass deportations of all kinds of people that could be seen as enemies to the ‘future of Communism in the Soviet Ukraine’. This is important to note and underline repressions against not only the discussed Greek-Catholics, but anyone who could be hit by the ideology of non-toleration and hate against religion, social class, or an ethnic group. UGCC happened to be the most not acceptable due to its strongly pro-independent Ukraine position, and strong refusal to co-operate with the Russian Church, which planned to subdue it under the regulation of the Soviet government [an intention noted before; before 1914 and after 1939]. It may be very important to underline that the Russian Orthodox Church was already destroyed as an independent organization in the USSR, and anything they were carrying out under the Soviet system was not independent, especially when it came to relations with other religious groups or Christian denominations.

While they exploited this event as the “reunification” of the Ukrainian people, they faced the danger of “bourgeois nationalism” affecting Soviet Ukraine.¹⁵⁸

Generally, it was not seen as something friendly before because of the previous history, at least Galicia was part of the Austro-Hungary, and it must be important to remember that it was the rival during the First World War, plus after that war, it became part [Galicia and the Orthodox Volhynia] of the capitalist Poland.

The Soviet invasion and annexation of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia in late September 1939 came at the end of a decade in which Soviet leaders explicitly identified such regions as a security threat.¹⁵⁹

The above-mentioned process of ‘Ukrainization’ in these regions was meant to strengthen Soviet popularity, and unwillingness to destroy all religious life from top to bottom was part of this policy.

VI

First Arrests and Surveillance

In the meantime, conflicts with the UGCC structures continued and the practice of surveillance was carried out by the Soviet security services, particularly targeting the Church leaders, activists, people who could stand close to the Metropolitan and his office. In the document called, *Registration page of the operative case of the Lviv Regional NKVD against the UGCC metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky*, it says everything what the secret services could find in his biography, the main steps so to speak, and one of the lines read, - *Information about*

¹⁵⁷ Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory*, (University of Toronto Press, 2000) at p. 385.

¹⁵⁸ William Jay Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, (Harvard University Press, 2011) at p. 31.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

*the previous convictions and political unreliability in 1914, after the capture of Lviv he was interned.*¹⁶⁰ They have mentioned the words ‘political unreliability’ and it clearly points out the fact that he was ‘unreliable’ to the previous Czarist government and the same terminology was in one way or another but incorporated into the NKVD’s spreadsheet. The same page includes this ‘registration page’ into the broader agential case #7, and mentions him as a member of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union under the case name “Hodyachie” [“Walkers”].¹⁶¹ Authorities understood that everything they can collect will be used later on against the top echelon of the UGCC, most likely during the public trial in which they have been well experienced, for example, something as the Moscow trials against *Trotskyists* etc. At the same time they were really afraid of the Ukrainian nationalism, especially if it was promulgating itself in the form of above mentioned ‘bourgeois nationalism’, and constantly tried to find any connection possible between Sheptytsky and nationalistic [or at least presumed as such] organizations. It is seen from another peculiar document composed by the Lviv Regional NKVD on February 28, 1940, vividly less than half a year after the occupation; the document includes or tries to find the same ‘nationalistic’ connection among other leaders of the UGCC. Here is the small extract from it.

Sheptytsky Andrei was subsidising religious (various) Ukrainian societies, Ukrainian nationalist organizations OUN, and UNDO and other., with which he was closely related. Around Sheptytsky A. there is a group from the clerical circles - nationalists, which the Church is using for the nationalistic activity. They belong to so called “authorities” of the Greek-Catholic Church.,¹⁶²

The list of these ‘authorities’ includes ten hierarchs of the UGCC that may be considered to be the most influential ones, many of them were considered by the Soviet secret services to be closely related to the nationalist and actively anti-Soviet movements such as OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] or UNDO [the Ukrainian National Democratic Union]. Some are only classified as clerics who carried out only theological work but somehow ended up on the list, perhaps because of their higher position and closeness to Andrei Sheptytsky. Above noted former General secretary of the UNDO V. Tselevych in his self-made accounts written for the NKVD underlined many issues that were supposed to weaken the Church leadership by showing their weaknesses, for example, antipathies between hierarchs. In his report, he speaks about the Bishop of Stanislaviv, Gregory Homyshyn, who is seen as someone within the ‘mistrusted circle’ by the Metropolitan Sheptytsky due to the first’s constant polemics with the latter.

¹⁶⁰ Registration page of the operative case of the Lviv Regional NKVD against the UGCC metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - p. 11. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. C-9113.-Т.11.-Арк.11.], [translated by me].*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - p. 11.*

¹⁶² Operative notification of the Second Department of State Security of the Lviv Regional NKVD about encirclement of the UGCC metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and separate Church’ groups. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - pp. 137-141. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. C-9113.-Т.11.-Арк.137-141.], [translated by me].*

For many times Homyshyn's journal "The New Dawn" was carrying out polemics with the metropolitan's journal "The Aim" over different questions and in often in a very sharp manner. But it's not all of it. Homyshyn used to send letters to the Vatican, to Pope in which he was accusing metropolitan over various issues. I know that a few years ago the Pope's trusted envoy came to Lviv for the purpose of investigation of Homyshyn's accusations against metropolitan.¹⁶³

These letters were most likely aiming at various possibilities of putting the Church against itself, and even if the various factions could exist, and probably did not always live in peace with one another, this time the NKVD could certainly use them against each other to purposely create a conflict. Find the weakest spot and find more turncoats-agents such as Tsalevych and the whole spectrum of practices for which any secret service may be known worldwide. Some figures could go for the co-operation, often openly without hiding their attempts to somehow be friendly to the new regime, but at the same time they were not always hostile to their former friends and peers [as Tselevych turned to be]. Josyf Slipyj recalls professor Studynsky, who became the speaker for Galicia, Volhynia, and Bukovyna, and was appointed to this position by Stalin himself to represent the region before the rest of the Soviet Union, the latter gave Studynsky instructions.¹⁶⁴ According to Slipyj, besides some downfalls professor Studynsky was fearful in defending the Church, people who could be prosecuted, and moreover, was really honestly satisfied when there was a possibility to help someone in trouble.¹⁶⁵ Studynsky was paying evening visits to his school friend Father Vasyl' Popovych, and this act could certainly mean that someone who was trusted by Stalin was certainly putting himself in grave danger. Future metropolitan Josyf Slipyj names more people who also were not paying much attention, or at least tried to do so, while keeping open connections with those in the UGCC circles that were under constant suspicion and surveillance.

Professor Panchyshyn had received an authorization during the gathering of the Western Ukrainian Assembly to contribute into the issue of divorces. This slightly compromised him, and he could not get away with it. All the time cured Metropolitan, Father abbot Gradyuk and other priests, and me, who acquired the lung inflammation due to badly closed gas crane, he did it despite the Bolsheviks have given him reprimands. He continued to do so during the Hitler's occupation. Also, the one who treated was doctor Gordynsky.¹⁶⁶

It seems that even the highest hierarchs of the UGCC were not given the proper medical care because of the governmental prohibition, and it was possible merely with attempts on the side of such enthusiasts, who could easily be arrested, interrogated, and killed or sent to the labor camps.

¹⁶³ Ibid., *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - pp. 137-141.*

¹⁶⁴ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 139.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 139.

VII

UGCC is Rivalling the Soviet Authority

The Greek-Catholic Church indeed tried to resist the spread of Communism, somehow halt the process of continuous atheistic propaganda, which was now totally in the hands of government, and going against it could mean repressions. The UGCC was technically the only organization of non-Soviet orientation that was still openly operating, as mentioned before the regime did not have enough potential [or as was said through Josyf Slipyj's recalls, 'they did not have full victory yet'] to completely forbid it. One of the documents made in 1940 by the NKVD shows that Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky tried to stand against the process of taking youth into the Communist Youth Organization ["Pioneers"].

Following the data of the Drohobych Regional NKVD, metropolitan Sheptytsky sent the "protest" to the Lviv regional department of people's education against the entry of children into the pioneer organization. The same "protest" is spread by Sheptytsky among the servants of the religious cult. We are asking to immediately get and sent the copy of "protest" to the Second Division of the State Security Department of NKVD-Central Ukrainian Office.¹⁶⁷

The same document includes a resolution written by another Lviv Regional NKVD officer.

Comrade Brikker. Drohobych had discovered America. "Protest" made by Sheptytsky is most likely in our possession. Make a copy and send it. Further on keep on informing Kyiv about Sheptytsky's activity without waiting for an inquiry.¹⁶⁸

In other words, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was acting absolutely in open and most likely had to know that everything he tries to do will be well-read, after all, his protests were sent in open to the local Communist Youth Organization. Still, they kept on merely documenting all of these moves but stayed away from arresting him. Notably, Sheptytsky was very old at that time and was paralyzed, authorities could be waiting for the upcoming of another figure in his place, which had less respect among the Greek-Catholic population of the western Ukrainian region. The question arises about any possible attempts made by the governmental structures to talk to him and probably change his position on the Soviet regime. Did they ever interrogate him or at least talked about the future of his organization tet a tet? There is one peculiar document previously kept by the Lviv Regional NKVD, which consists of such talks between Andrei Sheptytsky and the latter's agent, who copied the whole conversation, and now it's available to historians. Probably it may be interesting to translate every sentence because almost all of it gives numerous hints to the relationship between the UGCC and the Soviet state during that period, but here just a few ones will be shown with the

¹⁶⁷ Prescript of the Second Division of the State Security Department of NKVD-Central Ukrainian Office to the head of the Second Division of the Security Department of Lviv Regional NKVD to send a copy of the protest made by the Metropolitan of the UGCC Sheptytsky. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. - Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - p. 367. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.11.-Арк. 367.], [translated by me].*

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - p. 367.*

citation to the original source. For example, two sides talk about Ukraine and its long struggle for independence, particularly that is interesting to read in the context of time, politics of Europe.

[an agent]; “During various periods in history, even the most religious ones, the Soviet power rebelled against clerical ambitions to take control of the people’s masses. This phenomenon is not new and to react on this by answering: ‘I like it’ - ‘I don’t like it’”, means not to understand the way of history. Bolshevism - a phenomenon of the global scale, and all western Ukrainians, which until now stand still on ‘their’ national question are one century behind”. [Sheptytsky] “So what according to You we should do? Speechlessly accept the way of Marx-Lenin, destroy all our tradition? Ukrainian man - not a Communist, but an individualist, he is not Godless, he is connected to his Church. Even Bolsheviks themselves understand this and so far do not touch clerics, feeling that people, peasants insulted in their religious feelings could rebel against the new power and disrupt the whole economic life of the country. Come and see how even in Lviv population crowds the churches’.¹⁶⁹

How different are these two men? Clearly a Communist who believes in the anti-religious, class struggling masses that according to him must absolutely disattach from the Church of any denomination, and this is the way of history and progress. On the other hand Andrei Sheptytsky, a noble, the head of the biggest Eastern Catholic Church in the world, certainly a capitalist in his mind, someone who spent his entire life in trying to reinvent the Ukrainian Catholic Church based on the principles he served. Once again it becomes clear that during the first occupation, the Soviets did not try to destroy the UGCC completely because they understood how deeply rooted it was, and how economically difficult it might be if they did try. An agent certainly even tries to change Metropolitan’s mind, attempts to explain to him his vision of history, Sheptytsky does the same in trying to bring his sense into that man’s mind. Further passages show that Sheptytsky is not satisfied with the fact that the Ukrainian language is not considered to be the state language [and this talk takes place in September 1940], pointing out that the above noted ‘Ukrainization’ carried out by the Soviets was not reaching that far.

[Sheptytsky]: “And thus You consider it to be simply natural what is happening before your eyes, on what our intelligentsia and our peasants react so painfully, that on the Ukrainian lands the Ukrainian language is completely not taking the place of the state language?”. [an agent]: “Misunderstanding lays in the fact that the people raised during Austrian and Polish rule react to such events painfully. In the Soviet Union, each one freely determines his ethnicity and chooses himself the language with which one wants to study, write, create. Ukrainian intelligentsia in the western Ukraine - the one, which escaped to Germany is faulty for not raising the new generation in the new spirit that, so it could bravely stay here after the arrival of the Soviet. Oh, really if it’s not fully natural that after an exodus of 80 percent of the local Ukrainian intelligentsia its place should be filled with Poles, Jews and Russians?”. [Sheptytsky]: “I agree that many Ukrainians, who are not involved in political activity should have remain in their country, but they have heard about the prosecutions of Ukrainians...”. [an agent]: “Heard from where? You are aware of the source of this information”. [Sheptytsky]: “Can you really deny the fact that hundreds of Ukrainian writers and scientists are somewhere in exiles and jails?”. [an agent]: “No one among us so far did not try to check out why they were punished. No doubts that next to them are other Ukrainian

¹⁶⁹ Operative notification of the Lviv Regional NKVD about a conversation with the UGCC Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - pp. 368-370. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. C-9113.-Т.11.-Арк. 368-370.]*, [translated by me].

writers, scientists, actors, who got honored with medals, live, work - we saw them here, talked to them”, [Sheptytsky]: “But they are one hundred percent Communists!”. [an agent]: “You are mistaken. These are merely the Soviet citizens, which did not try to raise against their authority. Many of them have worked for long years until reaching the ideas of Communism. It’s a long way”. [Sheptytsky]: “Therefore, you defend Bolshevism, acquit those, who contributed its development? Don’t You really understand what kind of a hit Bolshevism takes against our people, connected to its religion?”.¹⁷⁰

These sentences yet once again uncover many aspects of the political situation in western Ukraine, it turns out that sometimes closer to the end of 1940 huge numbers of the local educated class escaped the land, and there could be nobody to let’s say teach or carry out highly qualified labor, notably these conversational excerpts slightly contradict the facts given before about the fulfillment of the Ivan Franko University by the Ukrainian staff. These conversational ‘facts’ may not be seen as such though, but they may portray the wider picture of many processes that took place after one year since the Soviet occupation/annexation began in September 1939. At least if judging through Sheptytsky’s point of view it becomes quite obvious that he was not seeing Ukraine being prosperous even if it was united [and the UGCC along with it], he just simply did not accept this sort of unification. Also, he did not believe any of his counterpart’s demagoguery regarding prosperity of Ukrainian culture under the Soviet oversight, it was simply destructive because it wanted to uproot the most precious historical and cultural thing about Ukrainian people [both intelligentsia and peasants], their religion - the highest moral ground according to Andrei Sheptytsky. He certainly could not perceive and live with an idea of society that stays quiet and possibly believes in something else, however, on the outside appears to be Communist. ‘Merely Soviet citizens, which did not try to raise against their authority’, is an idea totally unacceptable to Sheptytsky, the simple and clear totalitarianism, not just the Soviet denial of religion, but this particular idea of living on the sideline without any possibility to express the truth. Intelligentsia or peasants, who in one way or another kept their lives against the regime, openly protested against expropriations of the monastery property [shown with an example of Gavrilenko acting in the village of Mykhailivka] or writers and scientists, who became incarcerated for not becoming openly Communist.

The archives show that between the fall of 1939 and the fall of 1940, roughly one-tenth of the population of western Ukraine and western Belorussia was deported without a trial, an investigation, or even a written accusation. In November 1940 alone, 318,00 families, or 1,173,170 persons, were deported from these regions. Altogether between 1939 and 1941, some sixty thousand people were arrested in the western Ukrainian lands; more than fifty thousand of them were shot or tortured.¹⁷¹

The reality of what really takes place under the cover of a ‘friendly pro people’s’ government was well known to the UGCC leaders and Andrei Sheptytsky, and he decided to mention it during the conversation cited above.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - pp. 368-370.*

¹⁷¹ William Taubman, Sergei Khrushchev, Abbott Gleason, (editors), *Nikita Khrushchev*, an article by Iurii Shapoval, *The Ukrainian Years, 1894-1949*, (Yale University Press, 2000) at p. 24.

VIII

Repressions Against the Church and Laity

Unprecedented repressions were escalating, the reason for them was absolutely not understand not just to the city population or intelligentsia, but also to the working class, particularly religious peasants could not simply sit and wait until their churches were robbed or monasteries destroyed. The local bishop was an important figure, a village priest had a strong authority, much higher than one from the district Communist party official. It should not be forgotten that people in the West of Ukraine so far did not know the reality in which their property could be confiscated merely because one cannot possess it, it may be limited just to the backyard and a small village house, and nothing more. The whole technicality of the state's complete possession of all the material and certainly ideological things in life became totally unacceptable. Collectivization in eastern Ukraine led to millions of casualties and to the unprecedented genocide in the early 1930s, nothing on this scale was wished of course, and people in western Ukraine knew about the results of these social experiments in the East before the Soviet armies came to them.

The new government suppressed all former political parties and movements and all social, cultural, scientific, trade, and industrial societies..., Religious and educational institutions were closed.

Argues Iurii Shapoval in his article *The Ukrainian Years, 1894-1949*, it may be said that certainly not all religious institutions could be closed, UGCC was possibly the only one to remain in an open existence, but was under the pressure and just one step away from destruction¹⁷². Continuous attempts to discredit Metropolitan Sheptytsky, and through him the UGCC were persistent. One of the documents from 28 August 1940 shows various insights that were circling in around the NKVD network regarding Sheptytsky's personality and his leadership in the Church [the extract was written by the junior lieutenant of the state security com. Popov]. Here are some important parts of it:

I have already said that Sheptytsky during the later years of western Ukrainian presence under the Polish occupation played a very large role and not so much in the church-religious sphere, but in the national political one by representing the center so to speak, of the Ukrainian opposition against Poland. Exactly in Lviv among the Ukrainian circles his role was exceptionally large, and it is witnessed by the grandiose manifestations organized in his honor. His authority as the Ukrainian Church ruler, pretending to defend also the national Ukrainian interests was thoroughly supported by the Uniate chauvinistic priests..., The widely irruptive wave of Ukrainian culture swept western Ukraine and deprived Sheptytsky from the halo of the Ukrainian defender in the eyes of most of local intelligentsia. However, of course, it should be considered that the Uniate clergy, deprived of its big material preferences will continue to

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 24.

agitate with all means possible for raising its previous prestige, in the Church (carry on propaganda against atheism), and political as the representative of the Ukrainian chauvinism.¹⁷³

Here it's completely clear that the authority of Sheptytsky was something that could protect the Church and it was simply quintessential to destroy him, but not by arresting or isolating, more complicated means were applied and they speak of discrediting him, however, it did not clearly work. Previously intelligentsia was trying to escape in large numbers not from Sheptytsky's authority, but the Soviet rule [clear from the Metropolitan's discussion with the NKVD agent shown before], and the Ukrainian culture which according to the above-cited report 'swept the Ukraine's West' was merely consisted of the Communist vision of the Ukrainian proletariat, not what western Ukrainians were used to at all. The plan was clear, and it pointed at his reputation among the civilians, which was extremely difficult to break, and hence they could not do it, the UGCC itself was able to remain intact. In a way, it was standing upon one person's authority, and certainly the deep roots of the Church within the society. Another few sentences from the same report show that Andrei Sheptytsky's authority was specifically influential in Galicia, where the Greek-Catholic Church was the largest denomination.

I am convinced that on the territories of a returned Volhynia, [in] Bessarabia and in Bukovyna, where Orthodox clergy was not so well connected with the population, had less authority than the Uniate in Galicia, counter-revolutionary, chauvinistic Ukrainian elements are much less influential than in the regions of western Ukraine where population belongs to the Uniates.¹⁷⁴

At this point the NKVD system was clearly tracing the popularity of the Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia and selectively compares it with the Orthodox influence in other parts of western Ukraine, they well understood that something was done by the Greek-Catholic leadership during the decades before annexation that made it more popular. As it was noted in the previous chapter, Metropolitan Sheptytsky [and before he became one] was spending a lot of time with the people, despite the fact that he was a noble and simply could be very far from them, he indeed took care of those who spiritually belonged to him. Spending money on popular societies such as *Prosvita* [education] or *Ridna Shkola* [native school], which dealt with the peasant issue, an establishment of the People's Hospital Society, all of these accomplishments made a difference in the eyes of common people.¹⁷⁵ The social implications rooted in class struggle were used by the Communist authorities all the time, it was their new all-dominating ideology beginning with their rule right on after September 17, 1939, however, this political position could not convince peasants in the lack of credibility of Andrei Sheptytsky. As it was already circulating before in this work, the figure of this Metropolitan is extremely important in understanding how the Greek-Catholic Church managed to go through

¹⁷³ An extract from the operative report of the Third Division of the Department of State Security of the Sumy Regional NKVD about the UGCC Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine*. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - pp. 372-374. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.11.-Арк. 372-374.], [translated by me].

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine*. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - pp. 372-374.

¹⁷⁵ Ivan Katchanovski, Zenon E. Kohut, Bohdan Y. Nebesio, Myroslav Yurkevych, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine*, (Scarecrow Press, 2013) at p. 553.

Soviet system of denial of religion, it failed to separate common people [peasants and workers according to the Marx-Lenin ideology] from their religious tradition due to an energetic leadership in the Church. Another archival document points to the level of education among the Greek-Catholic clergy, and it enabled them to work outside the Church structures, thus, probably melding it within the social structure. The following report was produced for the NKVD by one of its agents in November 1940 and covers not only western Ukraine, but also western Belarus and Estonia - particular attention is paid to Ukraine and Catholic influence in the area. Once again it may be not necessary to translate the whole text, but it can be crucial to outline particularly important parts of the report.

There were many figures, which left the places (there are many) and raise up within the state services. In Lviv these cases can be seen very often. For example, many Studites serve in the state organizations - pharmacies, banks, libraries. At the same time some of them continue studies with Sheptytsky.¹⁷⁶

Another report of how the Sheptytsky's Church organization tried to function under the ideological pressure, and it was noticed by the NKVD; the system could see that simple methods of depriving monks of their work in the monastery was quickly replaced by the work in other spheres most likely due to their skills acquired during the servitude for the Church. It means that the monastery system gave more than just theological studies, self-exile from society and good deeds, but practical matters, knowledge, and education, which was necessary to survive in case if the monastery was not any longer in existence. It literally turned the UGCC into an organization of not merely theological agenda, but political and social tool of struggle that had connections in nearly all spheres of life particularly in Galicia with the center in Lviv. To openly prohibit it meant to lose authority among most of the local population, surveillance did not bring all the wished results because the UGCC was adaptable to survivalism because repressions took place before, and it had to learn to carry on in difficult situations.

IX

Weak Co-Existence with the New Authorities

At least it was trying to function more or less openly and its cadres were not completely turned down, and as long as they were able to stay free, then the whole organization was able to exist, people could visit churches even if they knew that it was not preferable anymore.

All political parties except the Communist Party were illegal. Independent social activity was not tolerated. Soviet trade unions, youth organizations (Young Pioneers and Komsomol), and unions for artists, writers, architects, and teachers permeated society and helped control the

¹⁷⁶ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 13. - pp. 51-70. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. C-9113.-Т.13.-Арк. 51-70.], [translated by me].*

population. Membership in such an organization meant access to certain privileges and was a precondition for continuing to work in one's profession.¹⁷⁷

Of course, the Greek-Catholic Church as any other denomination did not have any representation in these organizations and had to rely on the laity, which was not fearful of supporting it, or just simply had to survive on its own. Notably, in the USSR, especially during Stalin, if one as belonging to the ideological mainstream it certainly did not guarantee any kind of safety from purges, it was up to luck, careful behavior, and an ability to speak when it was necessary or stay quiet when it was enforced. Communist leaders, party members, NKVD officers could easily end up where the real resisters to the regime were ending up, simply this was the nature of the Stalinist system.

In January 1940, the NKVD purged the intellectual and leftist scene in Lviv. Dozens of authors, journalists, and former members of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine were arrested.¹⁷⁸

What can be said about others, truly non-Soviet oriented organizations, especially when they tried to argue with the regime, claim their sovereignty while insisting on traditions? The answer stays on pages of the archival documents, - interrogation, surveillance, arrests, all sorts of methods to diverge the young generation from their previous traditions. Hence the 'protest' letter written by Andrei Sheptytsky to the Lviv regional Communist Youth organization, so they do not enforce taking of children into their ranks. Obviously, the Greek-Catholic leadership felt that the following generation raised by these organizations will be lost. Out of this comes a hypothesis on why the Soviet government was not trying to follow the Church hierarchs (additionally if they were of old age such as Sheptytsky) during the first occupation because they hoped to see the Church naturally fade away.

Anxiety and social stress, tremendous political changes that happened after September 1939 were so powerful and unprecedented for the region that particularly during that period (and later, but it may be discussed further on in the following chapters) apparitions of the Mother of God were witnessed in various places in Galicia.¹⁷⁹ An open warfare against religion, which was taking place at that time may only remind of the era when Christianity was in its early days, and often it was illegal to even say that the one is Christian, it could quickly follow the arrest or an execution. Social anxiety may be understood because no one could expect this sort of pressure, during the previous hundreds of years it could be the case of one denomination going against the other, Catholics fighting the Orthodox [discussed in Chapter one], but now literally any religion, non-Communist position in politics, or just anyone who could end up not lucky enough was not in favor. Here is one interesting excerpt from Orest Subtelny, which very well summarizes the general situation in western Ukraine between 1939 and 1941.

According to Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, the Soviets deported about 400,000 Ukrainians from Galicia alone. The Poles, and especially the colonists, suffered even more, for their

¹⁷⁷ Timothy Snyder, Raymond Brandon, *Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953*, p. 143.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹⁷⁹ Vlad Naumescu, *Modes of Religiosity in Eastern Christianity: Religious Processes and Social Change in Ukraine*, (LIT Verlag Münster, 2006) at p. 2006.

government-in-exile contended that, during the Soviet occupation of Poland's eastern territories, about 1.2 million people, the majority of whom were Poles, were deported to the Soviet east.¹⁸⁰

The horrible treatment of Poles in the Soviet territory of occupation should not be left out and will be mentioned in here all the time because their history is very closely related to the discussed topic as much as the region. In the NKVD documents mentioned before, the Soviet secret police constantly tried to find any possible connection of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and his closest circle within hierarchs to Poland, the Polish government, their relatives there, the Roman Catholic Church, and their relations to the Vatican via Poland. It was also mentioned that one of the metropolitan's brothers [who was the general in the Polish army during the Second Republic] lived near Warsaw, and according to the NKVD logic, it was possible to use it as a disfavor against him in the eyes of Ukrainians. The process of 'Sovietization' and open, war-like atheism hit the Roman Catholic Church and Polish community extremely hard in the Soviet-controlled Ukraine, Latin was forbidden in schools, religious education became illegal, geography and Polish history were erased from the curriculum.¹⁸¹ The faith of Catholicism of any kind was quite obvious in the militant state where the might of Stalin and his authority were considered to be the ultimate in comparison to God.

X

UGCC and the Roman Catholic Church

Tensions that existed between Ukrainian Greek-Catholics and Polish Roman Catholics were not forgotten in a minute (even in the face of danger), and in a few following years these contentious difficulties sprung once again, but many on both sides understood in what kind of time the Catholic Church - of both Rites, ended up in the early 1940s. Once Josyf Slipyj was a witness to an apology (if the following passage can be classified as one) by one of the Polish hierarchs of the Roman Catholic Church, and it pretty much sums up the most quintessential misunderstandings that existed between two Rites and cultures. These are words said by Father Herstmann [considered himself to be Polish only, but with German and Ukrainian backgrounds], who visited Lviv and its Theological Academy in 1939-1940.

This Polish megalomania had always harmed us. I always told them that dragging of Greek-Catholics for the Latin ritual and 'Polonization' won't prove anything, and right now they return where they have been.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, (University of Toronto Press, 2000) at p. 456.

¹⁸¹ Irena Grudzińska-Gross, Jan Tomasz Gross, *War Through Children's Eyes: The Soviet Occupation of Poland and the Deportations, 1939-1941*, (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1981) at p. 243.

¹⁸² Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p.140.

This is an example of understanding that Poland and Ukraine had to co-operate instead of fighting each other over the land or religion, eventually both nations could not retain their independence and religious sovereignty and while having internal problems were conquered on both sides. As it was said before, Orthodox Church had certainly experienced more pressure during the Second Polish Republic, it did not possess protectorate granted by the Vatican and was certainly seen as foreign to Poles, thus, the role of the UGCC in trying to spread some kind of legal cover to Orthodox increased. Just to step back a little bit into the 1938 may be important and show the way of how the UGCC attempted cooperation with the Orthodox [particularly in Volhynia], it's important to see how it was possible because the same methods were used by the Greek-Catholic Church after 1939 too.

In 1938 the KOP [Security Corpse of the Borderland] began to burn the Orthodox churches. Metropolitan had published a message to defend Orthodox, but it was confiscated by the Polish government. Orthodox with a lot of appeal have turned to Metropolitan with petition about help and defence. It was a particularly good move on the side of our Church through which Metropolitan united the Orthodox adherence and confidence. The Curia had agreed with Metropolitan's position and moved against repressions toward the Orthodox with letters/petitions to the Polish Bishopric and to the Polish government.¹⁸³

These issues are important to understand the difficulty of the ethnic/political situation of the Ukraine's West, and the tragedy of both Polish and Ukrainian people, when they could not unite under the flag of friendship, even when the danger came not just from one side, but from two. An excerpt from the *Memoirs* of Josyf Slipyj show that before and during the war, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky kept with his role as a diplomat and mediator, it gave him and his Church more respect from the neighboring denomination, it had certainly strengthened the position of the UGCC after 1939. This maneuvering tactic which Sheptytsky was famous forgave his Church's necessary surviving capabilities, it was noted previously and should be repeated possibly throughout the whole work. The UGCC was not in a position of dictating its own terms or means, simply as every other religious group in around that seriously difficult time, including the Orthodox, who of course were not in favor of the new counter religious views. Orthodox groups were nearly illegal before the war, and went under the pressure after 1939, so merely the diplomacy was able to stop the dangerous currents or at least managed to postpone the problem. Before 1939 the Greek-Catholic Church was somewhat pressed by the Polish side to turn into the Latin Rite, Father Herstmann was quoted as the defender of the Eastern Rite, who spoke about the dangerous policy that would bring in only new problems [particularly to Poland itself]. After 1939 the Church became the center of the Ukrainian patriotic movement, the keeper of Ukrainian culture without Communism, and became extremely unfitting within the frames of the new Soviet regime but succeeded in maintaining its strong presence in western Ukraine.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 129.

XI

Tselevych and his Reports. Ethnic Composition of Galicia.

Former General Secretary of the UNDO [Ukrainian National Democratic Union] V. Tselevych wrote to the NKVD in 1940 that UGCC has a lot of popularity and may not be uprooted as quickly as the Orthodox Church in Volhynia. Here are some sentences from his report, it shows some details of the ethnocultural phenomenon that existed in Volhynia, and it gets compared to the Greek-Catholic position [most of all in Galicia].

An influence of the Orthodox Church over the Ukrainian population in Volhynia and Holmshyna is far less strong than the influence of the Catholic Church on the Ukrainian population in Galicia. Thus, in Volhynia and Holmshyna it may be easier to liquidate the Church than in Galicia. Its corresponded by many reasons, here they are: 1. Orthodox metropolitan, Orthodox bishops and most of the Orthodox clergy is Russian, which in the past and at this moment look at the Ukrainian language and Ukrainians with contempt. Moreover, in Volhynia and Holmshyna during the Czarism most of the clergy belonged to the Russian pro Imperialist organizations [‘Chernaya sotnya,’ or ‘the Black Hundreds’, O.K.], and after the fall of that regime clergy did not leave its former position. Orthodox clergy was foreign according to the ethnic and social views, therefore, relations between the clergy and believers was if not hostile, but foreign-like.¹⁸⁴

Further on he mentioned the local believer’s wish to change from the Slavonic language [officially used by the Russian Orthodox Church] to Ukrainian, the one that they have seen as vernacular, but met a lot of resistance on the side of Russian speaking clergy. All the issues had a long history, and certainly reflected the multinational, and multireligious area of different interests and previous conflicts. In the same document, he points out that the Roman Catholic Church in western Ukraine is the strongest religious organization, stronger than the Greek-Catholic as much as the latter stronger than the Orthodox. It can be explained by a lot of influence the Polish state had in the area for a long time. Also, he pointed out the strength of the religious conviction among the Poles, who regardless of social class were faithful to the RCC, at the same time its clergy was not married, did not have direct relatives, and could sacrifice itself during the political trials and surveillances. In other words, NKVD was reading everything he wrote, and it was specifically directed at their particular interest in the religious spheres in western Ukraine. They wanted to compare each denomination with another, see how seriously threatful each confession may be to the Soviet authority. It turned out that at least according to the report written by V. Tselevych, the Roman Catholic Church was equally unfriendly to the Soviet system, and it can be proved by the terrible persecution of local Poles that was mentioned above [statistics give an overall picture of the Soviet relations with the Polish population]. The Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine was somewhat seen as an offshoot of the greater Roman Catholic denomination, and in terms of the Communist hostility toward

¹⁸⁴ Self made accounts by the former General secretary of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union V. Tselevych about activity of the UGCC and other denominations in western Ukraine, *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.12.-pp. 26-114. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сnp. C-9113.-T.12.-Арк. 26-114.]*, [translated by me].

any religion, perhaps could be seen as the worst enemy in the area, however, the Second Polish Republic was not there anymore, and it seems that the whole attention was completely switched toward the UGCC in Galicia. At least all the information given above portrays this particular picture, all the Soviet authorities wanted to carry out was to remove Poles from western Ukraine [look at statistics shown in the previous pages]. Here are some additional statistics on arrests in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia from September 1939 to May 1941:

	Total	Poles	Ukrainians	Jews
Sept. to Dec. 1939	10,566	5,406	2,779	1,439
Jan. to Dec. 1940	47,403	15,518	15,024	10,924
Jan. to May. 1940	8,594	1,121	5,418	801
Totals	66,563	22,042	23,221	13,164 ¹⁸⁵

It vividly appears to be that starting with the second year of the occupation, the Soviet regime began to prosecute four times as many people than right after annexation in September 1939. Jews were not exempt by the system [even though the Soviets did not officially proclaim themselves as an anti-Jewish movement] and in 1940 get closer [as the repressed group] to Ukrainians and Poles. The latter group was prosecuted almost on the same level with Ukrainians, and Jews went third on the list. Many Jews [including those who escaped from Poland] were belonging to the middle class and possessed professions such as lawyers, politicians, industrialists, and merchants, so it obviously was not fitting into the Soviet vision of the classless society, thus, they fell under the governmental suspicion very quickly.¹⁸⁶ Certainly, the Soviet occupation began to get more repressive when it began to take a stronger root in the area and wanted to wipe out all sorts of opposition. At the same time, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky continues his attempts to resist the suppression with legal means he was able to carry out as the head of one of the largest denominations in the region that still could operate in open [but under strong surveillance]. In May 1940 he wrote a letter to professor K. Studynsky, who openly represented western Ukraine [under the directives of Stalin] and also tried to somehow protect or lobby local interests before the Soviet government, despite various dangers of such a position.¹⁸⁷ Here is the letter written to Studynsky.

Well respected Sir Professor, The Soviet authority in Vynnyky near Lviv is not allowing a priest appointed by Metropolitan and forbids him to visit the sick layman. Considering this as an outrageous violation of religion and as an act of prosecution against the Church, with an honor I would like to ask the well-respected Sir Professor to tell this case in Kyiv and receive an order from there to the local authorities, so in the future they do not violate Constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Grzegorz Hryciuk and Jaroslaw Stockyj, *Studia and Demografia historyczna sytuacja religijna Ukrainy*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Srodkowo-Wschodniej, 2001) at p. 23.

¹⁸⁶ Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, (University of Toronto Press, 2000) at p. 456.

¹⁸⁷ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 139.

¹⁸⁸ Annex #2. The letter by Andrei Sheptytsky to the Deputy of Soviets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic K. Studynsky. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.12.-pp. 305. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.12.-Арк. 305.]*, [translated by me].

Additionally, his *message* contains a letter to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Nikita Khrushchev where he explains all sorts of violations that exist around the Church, and wants him to change this situation because the Soviet Union had a Constitution, which was supposed to guarantee the freedom of religion. This possibly naive way chosen by Sheptytsky was the only way to somehow contact the Soviet leadership, even though now it appears to be not effective. Generally speaking, the Metropolitan used his diplomatic skills to contact various authorities around the world throughout his career in order to achieve the result, for example, his assistance to the Orthodox Church in 1938, when he decided to write to the Vatican and use its authority to influence the Roman Catholic hierarchs and politicians in Poland.

XII

Sheptytsky and His Diplomacy. Further on Repressions.

Nevertheless, after 1939 Andrei Sheptytsky did not have enough political instruments to totally secure his Church, if at the beginning of the occupation priests were obligated to carry special passports and churches paid a higher rent, later it turned to be more aggressive with anti-religious propaganda, surveillance, arrests, and of course the most difficult to bear, confiscations.¹⁸⁹ In the above-mentioned letter to N. Khrushchev, Metropolitan Sheptytsky describes an attempt by the authorities to make UGCC stop curating the matriculation archive, which was located in the *Metropolitanate Consistory*; there he appeals to the Ukrainian Soviet Constitution, and its article #123, which guarantees the freedom of religion.¹⁹⁰ Of course, these measures on the side of the UGCC could not change Khrushchev's mind, he did not even try to answer these letters [as it was widely practiced by the Soviet governmental authorities, if they did not want to change their opinion on the issue, they simply looked in the other direction without answering anything].¹⁹¹ In another document written by the Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine (NKVD) I. Serov to Khrushchev in January, 1941 where he points out at the UGCC and RCC activity within the Catholic youth, how they want to protect it from the Soviet influence.

In May, 1940 SHEPTYTSKY wrote in his proclamation to the Department of People's Education that, - "the school is not supposed to get involved in the religious affairs and should not stand against religion of children and their parents". SHEPTYTSKY notes: "...As the Metropolitan of western Ukraine I am protector of the Ukrainian youth and have a right and obligations from it and their parents to remind of the maintenance of their Constitutional rights, and the rights of their parents". The same notifications regarding the upbringing of youth in the

¹⁸⁹ Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, (University of Toronto Press, 2000) at p. 456.

¹⁹⁰ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.12.-pp. 305.*

¹⁹¹ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 139.

religious spirit was also given by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Twardowski to all the churches and Catholic monasteries.¹⁹²

Ukrainian Communist government and its prosecution body could not merely look at these activities, and open proclamations and letters to them about the freedom of religion, protection from atheistic propaganda, etc., because the state could not accept any form of religion even if it was working secretly, however, in the case of western Ukraine the Church was not hiding its wishes. No question why the First Secretary did not want to answer any of these letters, it must be obvious what he thought about it and by answering them he would have to recognize their authority in one way or another. The Soviet regime certainly did not possess plans to open up such a dialogue with the Church, which openly criticized the system, gave suggestions, and directed its power at the youth, something that the Soviet regime wanted to change first. At the same time, it was written before that the UGCC [and RCC within the Polish community in western Ukraine] had a lot of authority, and it was the strongest weapon against the regime at that time [as far as it was during the first Soviet occupation]. Maybe the Orthodox Church (mostly in Volhynia was in a worse position) because it was not as popular among the population, did not have ties to the Vatican and its authority, so the Soviet regime instead of trying to wipe it out, planned to blend it with the remnants of the Russian Orthodox Church.¹⁹³ The future will show that the same project was made for the UGCC as well, but not until 1944, during the first occupation they only pressured the Church with authoritarian methods without having enough authority and probably strength to break it up. Arrests, confiscations, and surveillance did take place and it was getting more complicated for the UGCC to function, especially if it tried to criticize the government, pro atheistic policies, or just acted without confirming its actions with the authorities. The following NKVD document produced in September 1940 is vividly showing the real call for action, or instructions that were describing what to do with the priests in Stanislaviv Region, who were going too far according to the Soviet administration. It was written by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic I. Serov to his subordinate in Stanislaviv Region, [Captain of the State Security A. Mikhailov].

In the report #1505075/2 from August 24, 1940 You said that in the villages of Podberezhye, Goshev, Gaziev, Tyapchi and other located in Your region, churchmen of the Greek-Catholic orientation under the leadership of the cult, openly carry out hostile work, spread provocative gossips about an emergence of the various miracles, organize religious processions and among believers spread anti Soviet defeatism and agitation. These facts speak for Your insufficiently established clandestine-operative work with churchmen, there is no deep elaboration of the recorded Uniate element, thus, You could not open and prevent provocational actions of the churchmen. Actions regarding the work with churchmen planned by You did not provide total opening of their anti-Soviet activity and detection of organizers of these provocative actions.

¹⁹² Memorandum note of the Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukrainian SSR I. Serov to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine N. Khrushchev about the clerical activity regarding the upbringing of youth in the western Ukrainian regions. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.16.-Register. 34 (year 1951).-Case. 10.-pp. 26-33. [ДА СБ України.-Ф. 16.-Он.34 (1951 р.).-Спр. 10.-Арк. 26-33.], [translated by me].

¹⁹³ Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, (University of Toronto Press, 2000) at p. 456.

To suppress the counter-revolutionary activity of the churchmen, I suggest recording facts of the anti-Soviet activity carried out by the priests Hoshchevskiy, Davidyuk, Dyakon and arrest them if it proves right. Detect and arrest the traveling preacher [...]. Coordinate all arrests with the attorney. Inform about results and course of the operation.¹⁹⁴

This example really shows what was actually done following the direct orders from the head of the Ukraine's NKVD Central office to his subordinates in the Galician region. Repressions in fact touched the lower echelon of the UGCC clergy, especially if it continued with their service to the local population. Cases of miracles were merely seen (by the authorities) as the result of any sort of the anti-Soviet speeches, liturgies, or processions. In the case above, all special attention was directed at the village priests, who certainly could not impose the same resistance as for example Andrei Sheptytsky [or his close circle] could in case of grave danger. The document was written almost a year later after the annexation of the western Ukrainian region, and it portrays some degree of escalation in the repressive methods. The usage of such words as the 'Uniate element', 'hostile work', 'provocative gossips' all point at the NKVD's vision of the UGCC as the pure enemy of their state, no wish to understand them or peacefully coexist in the future.

XIII

Sheptytsky in the Eyes of the Government. Reports on Him. What his Closest Circle Thought During that Time.

Generally, the archival materials give a lot of information on what was taking place in western Ukraine at that time [and Ukraine as a whole], those documents that were opened after the fall of the USSR, and prior to that kept in the KGB behind those 'seven seals', now seriously assist in the writing of this work. It uncovers the inner world of the Soviet secret police, its correspondence with the party officials (such as Khrushchev), helps to see inside of the system. Ironically, by studying them, the documents of that particular era show the role of Khrushchev in numerous atrocities in Ukrainian SSR, when he was the head of its local Communist Party in the 1930s and 40s, and technically portray his activities during Stalin. At the same time, Khrushchev is famous for later liquidating the system of GULAG and dethroning of the 'Stalin's cult', thus, becoming somewhat of a liberal in Soviet history, however, he was not any close to being liberal during his former master's reign.¹⁹⁵ During the period of 1939-1941 he was fully in charge of what took place in the Soviet Ukraine, and all the hazing against religion, particularly if touching the matter of this work, he was suppressing the Greek-Catholics, even just by not answering the letters from Andrei Sheptytsky, thus allowing the prosecution process. The following document produced in 1940 will be peculiar to study, and perhaps it may be important to translate more than just a few sentences. It was made by the

¹⁹⁴ Directive by the Minister of the Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR I. Serov to the head of the Stanislaviv Regional NKVD A. Mikhailov about an implication of the repressive methods regarding Greek-Catholic priests. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register. 33 (year 1951).-Case. 32.-p.303. [ДА СБ України.-Ф. 16.-Он.33 (1951 р.).-Спр. 32.-Арк. 303.], [translated by me].*

¹⁹⁵ Norman Friedman, *The Fifty-Year War: Conflict and Strategy in the Cold War*, (Naval Institute Press, 2007) at p. 191.

NKVD on the basis of reports produced by its agents when they were participating during the various meetings at the Metropolitan's headquarters, the Church from the inside, its thoughts and views recorded by the Soviet secret police.

[...] SHEPTYTSKY willingly began to talk by telling his opinion regarding the events that take place on the western Ukrainian territories. "From the historical point of view, - SHEPTYTSKY told me, - we must thank Bolsheviks from their arrival to us. Through this the secret became uncovered, and with what Communism was strong before, when western Ukraine was under Poland, now became its weakness. Communist words and deeds are so different that it pushes thousands of new believers into our hands. Now you can witness an unprecedented event in our churches. Churches cannot incorporate all the believers. We are afraid of the repressions, and thus, do not forgo the rising of our influence. But the people come to us on their own, and during confessions tell everything what was painful to them in the last eight months of the new statehood. Moreover, - SHEPTYTSKY continued, - there is an interesting phenomenon. Now people, who come to our churches came here to work from the Soviet Ukraine. They bring their children to us for baptisms. Merely one week ago we wed one of the workers, who arrived here, and he additionally he even insisted so we issued him the Church wedding certificate. Furthermore, you can see in the Church parents of the Red Army commanders, which arrived here for permanent residence. It convinces us that the role of the Church will grow.¹⁹⁶

This extract from his ideas regarding the Church and the growth of its popularity, even among the newcomers from other regions of the Soviet Union shows the irony of the repressive system. Not everything was good with the mind control in the regions that lived under Communism for more than two decades, people still needed the Church, and after their arrival to western Ukraine [where Churches, and particularly the UGCC] were still publicly opened, and not ruined, they went in there, baptized their children, wed etc. Sheptytsky noticed the opposite effect of everything that the totalitarian regime is capable of carrying out because eventually what goes around will come around, thus, probably the words he said about the growing popularity of the Church after the arrival of the Soviet regime, may be seen as prophetic or at least deeply philosophical. The Soviet government on the other hand saw the system [historically] established in western Ukraine as a 'backward', undeveloped, still living in the bourgeois religious society that completely cannot understand the 'wisdom' of class struggle. They could not accept this enclave [as much as the newly annexed Baltic States] within the Soviet mainframe, after all, it was showing an example, even to family members of the Red Army servants, who began to visit the Church [and not the Orthodox one, but the UGCC]. Everything that came from Austro-Hungary, Poland, generally the West, capitalism, individualism, landowning peasants, all of this was seen as a 'backward culture' and had to be changed.¹⁹⁷ Andrei Sheptytsky and his closest circle discussed all these issues, and despite the difficulty of this situation, total control and surveillance, somehow remained optimistic about the future of his people, and his Church. The document mentioned above also gives hints on

¹⁹⁶ An extract from the operative report of the Second Division of the Main Department of State Security of NKVD - Central Office, about meetings with the UGCC Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and his circles. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.11.-pp. 265-279. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. С-9113.-Т.11.-Арк. 265-279.], [translated by me].*

¹⁹⁷ William Jay Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, (Harvard University Press, 2011) at p. 28.

how an agent talked to one of the leaders of the UGCC, Bishop Mykyta Budko, and what the latter thinks of the fight that took place between them and the government.

Following the degree of antipathy to people, Bolsheviks distinguish all on four categories: 1. Nationalists. These are the worst enemies to them, 2. Men of property, 3. Churchmen, 4. Individualists, aka. intelligentsia. What is now taking place in the country? Planned liquidation of the Ukrainian nationality. All our friends are in Siberia. We are ourselves getting prepared for the same, even though knowing about the Kremlin directive not to touch SHEPTYTSKY. Clearly we are holding on only through him. This is why when there was a project to take SHEPTYTSKY out of the country, he refused this, and said that he prefers a martyrs death to living afar from his people, who right now need him so much.¹⁹⁸

At this point, Bishop Budko once again underlines that there is such a strength in their leader, which possibly is the only factor behind the safety of the whole Church structure, and this point was mentioned many times before. The UGCC probably would not survive into the modern form if there was no Metropolitan Sheptytsky, and of course later his follower Josyf Slipyj. All four categories of so-called enemies seem to be correctly placed, meaning it goes in the right order. Nationalists could openly start rebelling, they were directly unsafe to the Soviet regime, men of property had money and could finance any sort of resistance, plus their sheer existence was going against everything that Communism could believe. Churchmen had no military skills, nor lots of money, they only shared spiritual ideas [that sometimes could have grown into something political], and most likely were underestimated by Budko himself, they could even go second after nationalists. Intelligentsia was seen as the weakest point in this line of defense, and certainly seems right because these people clearly could not openly resist, finance the resistance or fully unite into one organization due to their [and it was somewhat correctly put on] individualism. They probably could generate new ideas, but it takes decades if not centuries, and then there was no clearance of that time for such a process, something practical had to be carried out to preserve an autonomous Ukraine or Galicia and in this case the Church from total dissolution.

XIV

Latin Rite

The Latin Rite [as was done before] should be mentioned along with the Orthodox Church, first because it's necessary to show others, who went through the same situation and that the Soviet regime did not really distinguish any religion, and second it will look fare. Not merely the UGCC, the topic of this work must be discussed, but the difficulties that were imposed upon the RCC and Polish community. It will also bring the wider picture of prosecutions and policies implemented in western Ukraine after September 17, 1939. According to Archbishop Boleslaw Twardowski, 10 priests and six monks were executed during that period of the first occupation, him and his auxiliary Bishop Eugene Baziak were deprived of their episcopal

¹⁹⁸ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.11.-pp. 265-279.*

residences that were vandalized soon after.¹⁹⁹ Seminary continued to function, however, its students were removed from their places of living, and had to search for another in the overcrowded Lviv, Church schools, hospitals, orphanages, monasteries became nationalized and church buildings were strongly taxed.²⁰⁰ Mass deportations could not really break down any ethnic and religious group, many priests continued to serve during the conveying, in the remote regions of Siberia, and here is what historian Christopher Lawrence Zuger had to say about it.

Indeed, among believers of all faiths, prayer became more important than bread itself. The Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant and Jewish clergy among those removed in the mass relocations organize services and provided emotional and moral support. Although priests who tried to join the convoys voluntarily were forced out by the NKVD, many were later arrested anyway and began their years of underground ministry. These priests joined the Soviet Catholic tradition of secret Masses, confessions, conferences, and conversions. They were exposed to terrible dangers, not only from the miserable conditions but from Catholics whose faith was not strong enough to withstand the brutal change and who apostatized: one priest was betrayed to the police by his friend former organist.²⁰¹

These words basically sum the situation regarding any religion, faith, and destinies of those, who became victims of the regime, people were hit from within by hardships that they could not even imagine before, some carried out quietly, some fought, others could break down and began to report to the authorities. Deportations were the most massive way of treating the unbending side of the people's consciousness, it gave a lot of fear and uncertainty, the death toll was certain, horrible conditions of living in Siberia were definite. Those who broke down and began to report can also be understood from the humane side, they did not want that sort of life. The following memoir of a child from the Lviv region [ethnic Pole] clearly portrays all the hardships and pain of being sent away and trying to survive, while being surrounded by cruelty and constant cold. This letter was taken from the collection of letters and memoirs [put together by Irena Grudzinska-Gross] written exclusively by children and young adults, thus, it gives the sense of true and eye biting reality.

On 4.13.1940 I was deported to Kazakhstan with mother Maria and brother Jerzy to a kolkhoz, in which they forced us to work under threat of starvation. I was not able to support the family on the money earned, which was the reason for very frequent fasting, and also of declining health. Work conditions were very hard for me, because I was only 15 years old, and I had to do the hardest labors, wanting to support the family after a fashion. Mama almost did not work, because mama's age did not allow her to work, and my brother still as a child (10 years old) also could not work, so I could not count on the earnings of mama or brother. I worked everywhere in the fields, in the garden, and in the stables. The work in the field was hard, because everyday I had to walk to my work place and it was about 5 kilometers, one way, for being late to work one was threatened first of all by one's job and being tried by a court. After

¹⁹⁹ Christopher Lawrence Zuger, *The Forgotten: Catholics of the Soviet Empire from Lenin Through Stalin*, p. 291.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 291.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

the case was decided in court, one is usually threatened with a few years in prison. As far as housing conditions were concerned, they were very poor. I lived in an old and neglected house, which leaked on your head after the smallest rain, not to mention what went on during the thaw.²⁰²

Each report from that collection incorporates similarly painful recalls of deportation and unbearable conditions of life that corresponded to it, the fact that it was written by children or based on their memories (written later during adulthood) adds necessary details. The truly atheistic [or better to say anti-theistic] state, which believed in no tolerance whatsoever, acted in the only way it knew, suppress the believers or people with other political, social, or economic ways of thinking, and deportations were one of the most difficult to bear.

Roman Catholics were put in the same situation as the UGCC, with the only difference based on ethnic difference, hence, most of the RCC laity belonged to Poles. Here are some extracts from the document already mentioned above written by the head of all Ukraine's NKVD I. Serov to his superior, the head of the Communist Party in Ukraine, N. Khrushchev, there he actually mentions a lot about what actually took place within the RCC, how priests also refused to bend before the new occupational regime, and attempted to stand along with its laity.

With the aim to attract youth to the Church, temples and religious organizations, clergy strives to influence parents for whom they read out special sermons. Stanislaviv priest Ptak (20.X-1940) in his preachment said: "...Parents are obliged to send their children to churches to study religion. Parents are not supposed to allow them to sign up to the Pioneers because Pioneers are Godless". In the same church, priest Tuleia (27.X-1940) said in his preaching: "...Parents are badly raising their children, and therefore they have stopped visiting the Church. Children sign up for Komsomol and Pioneers, stop believing in God. It's totally the parent's fault. Are you afraid to lose jobs, afraid of being deported to Siberia, timeserving the regime and do not allow the right conduct to children? You must decide on your own, should Your children believe in God or not". In March, 1940 priest Mirat had a sermon in the Lviv Jesuit Cathedral before the large crowd and youth, he said: "...You, the youth is the base of Poland, and in school You should not learn the anti-religious studies. School without religion will not teach you anything, and you will lose everything. You all have to remember that we, the Poles are Catholics, should believe only to the Holy Mary, and merely she can give you power and knowledge, so later you will fight for the Motherland Poland. Holy Mary the Queen shall not die, she will exist and will not let Catholics parish in the hands of evil men."²⁰³

These strong calls for freedom of Poland probably did not really match with the Greek-Catholic position on Ukrainian autonomy, especially if it was meant to restore the Polish order in the lands of western Ukraine, however, the resistance to atheism, Pioneer and Komsomol youth organizations, obligations before parents to raise their children in such a way so they do not forget their religious roots, it all was the same. Both Rites of the Catholic Church

²⁰² Irena Grudzińska-Gross, Jan Tomasz Gross, *War Through Children's Eyes: The Soviet Occupation of Poland and the Deportations, 1939-1941*, Document #13, Jadwiga O, born 1925, *Drohobycz county, Lwow Voivodship*, (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1981) at pp. 61-62.

²⁰³ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register. 34 (year 1951).-Case. 10.-pp. 26-33. [ДА СБ України.-Ф. 16.-Он.34 (1951 р.).-Сnp. 10.-Арк. 26-33.], [translated by me].*

understood how important the future was, Andrei Sheptytsky wrote letters to the Pioneer organization in Lviv, talked about his special obligation before the younger generation and its parents to prevent the spreading of these organizations. Any Church would not be too happy about the destruction of its future under the fear of deportations and arrests, as much as any human being, who believes in the freedom of conscience. In another NKVD document mentioned before, Andrei Sheptytsky talked to an agent and said a few words about his slight fear of the restoration of the Polish Republic as it was before, which did not want to recognize Ukrainian autonomy or independence. Their fears did exist, and even in the face of a common danger still problems between Polish and Ukrainian communities continued to exist in western Ukrainian regions.

[OPERATIVE REPORT. From the discussion with Metropolitan SHEPTYTSKY on 24.VIII.1940. Metropolitan Sheptytsky would like to know if it's true that an influence of Poles is strengthening in Lviv. Sheptytsky: "I was told that after the trip of a writer WASILEWSKA to Moscow and some Polish delegations, Poles should gain their old rights?". [an agent]: "In what meaning, and in which direction? I have heard nothing about his". Sheptytsky: "For example, on the Akademicheskaya street, the signs in Polish language began to reappear". [an agent]: "This was done for the filming, which is currently taking place". Metropolitan Sheptytsky was surprised: "Are you sure about this? ...I was told...". [an agent]: "You never know what they say!". Sheptytsky: "So far on the building of the Lviv University there was a sign "Ukrainian Lviv University", and during the latest time a word "Ukrainian" disappeared". [an agent]: "Really, I did not pay on this any serious attention. As far as I remember, the Lviv University is officially called "Lviv State University in the name of Ivan Franko", and the name of Franko is enough...". Sheptytsky: "But, Polish professors have received the right to read lectures in Polish for one more year, even though the Ministry of Education in Kyiv insisted on introducing of Ukrainian language starting with the new academic year. The new resolution came from Moscow". [an agent]: "I don't know if there was such a decision, but, if it came from Moscow, it must be the most correct. It's impossible to ask of professors, so only in a few months they have to learn the new language well enough to know it fluently". Sheptytsky: "But, if it will last for one more year...". [an agent]: "The question of language is secondary. In the Soviet Union its only one of the means of propaganda of a common culture, but not its symbol". Sheptytsky: "In this are all the troubles. You know what meaning for our people is possessed by the mother tongue."²⁰⁴

Here, the head of the UGCC is certainly not wanting the return of the pre-1939 condition, and from some perspective, it may be seen as not the best move on his side, it somewhat showing the anti-Polish sentiment, particularly during the time of difficulties for them and the same dangers the UGCC faced. Nevertheless, these reports written by the NKVD and set up by their agents should be 'divided in half' because here historians deal with the document already written by the other side only, many words and sentences could be taken out of the context to make them sound more radical or just unpleasant. At the same time, that is possible that Andrei Sheptytsky was more or less standing on the patriotic position, even

²⁰⁴ Operative notification of the Lviv Regional NKVD about a conversation with the UGCC Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - pp. 368-370. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.11.-Арк. 368-370.]*, [translated by me].

though not defending rebellions, as much as he did not ask for them during the ‘revindication’ campaigns carried out by the government in the 1930s during the Second Polish Republic [discussed in the previous paragraphs]. It merely shows that he strived for an independent or autonomous state, and possibly tried to use any means possible to outmaneuver everything that could stand in the way of such an aim, and at the same time strengthen the Church structure.

XV

Closer to 1941

In early 1941 fears of the war with Germany began to circulate in the Soviet government including local authorities, NKVD was monitoring various tendencies in the social and religious circles not without worries. The following (formerly secret) document produced by the NKVD is clearly pointing at these tendencies and is worth citing; particularly it reports on the opinions among clergy and society.

From the discussion with Bishop Charnetsky. People openly talk about the nearing conflict between USSR and Germany. Germany is trying to acquire a part of Galicia as the route to Romania, and the Bolsheviks do not want to crash the united Ukraine. The aim of clergy is to support such wishes and explain in private discussions and in secret reports to the families that the result of such a conflict is only one: Germans will destroy the Russian army in a few weeks and will be in Moscow. Here equipment will not help, which is often recalled by STALIN, hence soldiers say that they have their own equipment, about which STALIN doesn’t know, the hands going up and capitulate... Religion was very well influenced by the arrival of Bolsheviks. People got cured from the “Red fever” and now all Ukrainians, Jews, ex-Communists are disappointed with Communism. More than before they visit churches and confess. Moreover, there were cases when wives from the Bolshevik families came to baptise children and confessed. Orthodox also work better. Generally, the arrival of Bolsheviks had opened wider possibilities with the activity than it was before.²⁰⁵

Certainly, Soviet authorities were worried [here they clearly see this], and it appears that they did notice the failure of their political system, people did not really trust it and as the report showing, even the Communist families could turn in the direction of Church. Actually, a few paragraphs before, the same tendency was noticed by Sheptytsky in his private discussions with other UGCC hierarchs. Many people who in the beginning began to believe in Communist ideals, at least for a short while, by early 1941 started to look aside and most likely dropped these ideals. At this point, this chapter will get to discussing the end of the first Soviet occupation period, and an extract shown above reflects the moment, this is how NKVD saw the UGCC and various tendencies that developed in around it. Also, it reflects what UGCC leadership noticed among the people in western Ukraine and how it could use the general de Sovietization tendency due to the violent Communist policies that started at the end of 1939

²⁰⁵ An extract from the operative report of the Second Division of the Main Security Department of the NKVD (USSR) about the heads of the UGCC, sent to the Second Division of the Security Department of the NKVD - Lviv Region. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 13. - pp. 90-102. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.13.-Арк. 90-102.], [translated by me].*

and reached its pinnacle in 1940 (see statistics by Grzegorz Hryciuk and Jaroslaw Stockyj on the displaced or arrested people). The simple conclusion, as it seems, is in the violent and unrighteous policies developed by the regime, its lack of understanding of the local tradition, even though they were afraid to touch Sheptytsky himself or totally destroy the Greek-Catholic Church in western Ukraine. According to Milena Rudnytska and Father Julian Dzerovych, whom she cites in her book “Western Ukraine Under Bolsheviks”, *twenty-eight* priests were arrested or deported during this first Soviet period.²⁰⁶ Historian Bohdan Bociurkiw wrote that between September 1939 and June 1941 up to *11/12* Greek-Catholic priests were murdered or became missing, and *fifty-three* got arrested or deported.²⁰⁷

The first occupation was not solid, it could not puncture the social fabric, and evidence shown in this chapter tried to uncover it, particularly basing an argument upon archival material. At this point, it may be interesting to discuss what happened at the very end of this period during the first half of 1941, how the Soviet authorities tried to hold on, and what kind of memory did they leave. It's crucial to understand the shadow of this period in order to see what happened in the following decades because mostly it was determined by this first occupation. When the Second World War came to the USSR on June 22, 1941, the Soviet authorities did not want to leave any serious traits of their presence in the region in the form of ex-prisoners, who at that moment were located in the western Ukrainian region, they did not have time to relocate them to other regions in the deep USSR. One of the reports said about that time:

The witness T.P. testifies as follows: In the spring of 1941 I was moved from the prison in Lviv to Vinnytsia. When the Bolsheviks began to withdraw from Vinnytsia after the outbreak of the war, the NKVD started murdering prisoners in the prison yard and in the cells. On hearing the screams of those who were being murdered,....²⁰⁸

This particular case mentioned by W. Hamaliya was discussed and documented in the report by the Kersten Committee, U.S. Congress, of December 31, 1954, - House Report No. 2684. Historian John Czaplicka notes that another wave of deportations and arrests began just before the beginning of the war [also mentioned in the report above - the witness was moved from Lviv to Vinnytsia during the spring]. He also mentions the third round of deportations that took place in 1940.

The third deportation in May and June of 1940 was no longer directed toward a specific part of the population, but among its victims were many Poles and Jews who had fled Nazi-occupied Poland. In June 1941, shortly before the Wehrmacht marched into Galicia, the NKVD initiated a last wave of broad deportations that encompassed people who had managed to avoid expulsion earlier.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Milena Rudnytska, *Western Ukraine under Bolsheviks*, [Західна Україна під Більшовиками], (NTSH Publishing, New York, 1958), at pp. 332-229.

²⁰⁷ Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, *Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church under Soviet Occupation, 1939-1941*, (Edmonton; Life and Times, 1989) at pp. 101-123.

²⁰⁸ W. Hamaliya, *Khrushchov's Crimes in Ukraine: Mass-murders of Ukrainian Political Prisoners*, (Ukrainian Publishers, 1962) at p. 66.

²⁰⁹ John Czaplicka, *Lviv: A City in the Crosscurrents of Culture*, (Harvard University Press, 2005) at p. 266.

Josyf Slipyj [at that time the head of Lviv Theological Seminary - and the closest figure to Metropolitan Sheptytsky] reports of atrocities that took place in Lviv soon after June 22, 1941, when the Soviet government was about to evacuate as quickly as possible.

Sometime in 1940 the Ukrainian population was convinced that Bolsheviks will not hold. Almost all the time governmental commissions that allowed Soviet citizen to cross the Svan river [Soviet border., O.K.] were at work. And came the beginning of the war - seemingly not expected by the USSR - 22 June 1941. Soviets were not ready, hence starvation started quickly. New arrests took place in Lviv. At Lontskoho Str, NKVD was executing huge numbers of prisoners without trial, so after that it was impossible to get close to prison because already on the street before the jail it was possible to feel terrible stench. Close to the St. Jura [St. Jura Cathedral, Metropolitan's residence., O.K.] arrived NKVD on tanks and led all men out and put them against the wall, "execution style", among them myself and Bishop Budko, and almost all the priests. They have made revisions and then ripped my cassock off. Metropolitan had ordered to close all the doors and not allow anyone into the building. After not finding anything suspicious, the army stepped back and drove out from the buildings of St. Jura.²¹⁰

The UGCC was spared during those last days of the first occupation, however, it seemed that the NKVD was trying to scare the hierarchs, just in case so to speak, for the future. Certainly, these last actions carried out by the leaving government could not bring in more "popularity", and it only once again explains the fact of why many people in western Ukraine mistakenly saw the following Wehrmacht as liberators [not knowing what will come with them later, racial policies, also massive deportations and Holocaust], and further resistance starting with 1944, when the Soviets came back again. In this story, one period [or as in here they are divided into chapters] determines the next, without understanding the step of history it may be difficult to see the whole concept. Two years of the first Soviet occupation of the Ukraine's West, its policies against the UGCC and other denominations, against all the people, who did not agree with the regime determined the principle of historical causality, and by understanding this, it may be easier to understand the next period.

1941-1944: Nazi Occupation

This chapter concentrates upon the situation in which the UGCC had to survive under the Nazi regime and the whole complicated position of trying to preserve its dignity. Cooperation was morally unacceptable, war was making the Christian values prone to destruction, and the Church had to stand in the middle of the warring sides. The situation was explained.

²¹⁰ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 140.

I

June 22, 1941 and the Following Developments

All the events that followed June 22, 1941, began to drastically change the whole situation in Ukraine, it turned into the land divided by the frontlines, ferocious battlefields, and horrors of war. Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was supposed to find other ways to exist in the new political agenda, try to adapt itself to the changing environment that was dictated by another occupational regime. All of Galicia [where the UGCC had the most influence] was quickly conquered just in a few weeks, Lviv as the center of this Church was facing completely different circumstances, foreign army with ideas that also did not have any plans of treating the subdued city with humane laws, and had no intention to protect religious and civil rights of its citizens with justice. Jews were facing the worst prosecutions that they have ever experienced in the history of the region since World War I.²¹¹ In his work *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City Between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists*, historian Tarik Cyril Amar relates to a citation in chapter three.

The militia (milits) was the forerunner of collaborating Ukrainian police units. Whereas Lviv's Ukrainian police needed a little longer to be fully institutionalized, the militia was emerging even before the German arrival (Pohl. *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*, 61).²¹²

It started right after the occupation began, and as the previous quote shows even before that; it's estimated that from June 30 to July 25, around four thousands of them were killed, the new propaganda accused them of participating in mass murders that were carried out in the NKVD prisons during the last days of the Soviet presence.²¹³ Literally, one inhumane system had immediately replaced another and used the crimes of the previous one to benefit its political interests in the newly acquired territory. Local participation-collaboration in the new atrocities began to take place, bringing shame to those, who decided to do so. Certainly, this Nazi propaganda did not take into any consideration the fact that Jews were also victims of this massacre at Lontskoho Str, as during the previous years and months of the Soviet occupation.²¹⁴ Josyf Slipyj wrote in his memoirs about the first days of the Nazi occupation; him, Bishop Budko, Father Klymentiy, Father Galyant, and Father Gorchynsky went to serve requiem for those who were executed by the Soviet NKVD at the Lontskoho Str.²¹⁵ This act was able to show that the Church authorities remained in place and served the population of Galicia, who

²¹¹ Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism*, (University of North Carolina Press, 1998) at p. 71.

²¹² Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City Between Stalinists, Nazis and Nationalists*, (Cornell University Press, 2015) at p. 98.

²¹³ Alex J. Kay, Jeff Rutherford, David Stahel, *Nazi Policy on the Eastern Front, 1941: Total War, Genocide, and Radicalization* (University Rochester Press, 2012) at p. 204.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

²¹⁵ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, ed. by Ivan Datsko, Maria Goryacha, (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv-Rome, 2014) at p. 161.

were really shocked by the persecutions that took place in the NKVD jails. The Church was supposed to learn how to position itself, what may be the reaction to another totalitarian ideology, and how coexistence was possible [if it was possible at all].

Evidently, the most rigorous criticism against the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and its hierarchs including Andrei Sheptytsky originate during this period [1941-1944] because the Church was widely blamed for cooperation with the Nazi regime, its inability to stop the anti-Jewish campaign, or at least control and prevent it among collaborating Ukrainians. All these issues will be thoroughly discussed in this chapter, each necessary detail will be taken out and analyzed. Did the UGCC hierarchs genuinely believe in the future co-living with the Nazi occupiers or they searched for ways to resist it, and at the same time save the Church system for the future generations? This question may be put on top of the discussion right now. There are two sides, both may be supported by the variety of evidence, and often they can be very contradictory, thus, that is important to look for the facts as thoroughly as possible. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky lived through this period [his last four years] and again will be in the center of the given discussion. During this period, he was bearing all the responsibility for the UGCC, as during previous occupation, and his personal deeds, position or beliefs may explain a lot of events. Perhaps it will be right to start with the most cutting edge and arguable moments that surrounded the UGCC during these four years.

On July 1, 1941, Sheptytsky wrote a pastoral letter, which actually welcomed the German army, and generally offered his assistance in fighting Bolshevism; soon after the capture of Kyiv, he congratulated that too, and technically named himself, a ‘friend of Germany’.²¹⁶ This particular letter is often seen as the worst accusation against Sheptytsky and the UGCC during the Nazi occupation, and it may be crucial not to rip such facts out from the general context, everything must be balanced out and neither fact can be hidden from the discussion. The first that can be said about it is that the head of the UGCC did this without actually trying to collaborate [but the shadow of such a letter may remain anyway], as during the Soviet period he wanted to save the organization and the people he was in charge of. To explain this further, it must be said that on one hand A. Sheptytsky did not expect the level of hostility that was about to come later, his generation which grew up in the Austro-Hungarian Lviv/Lemberg saw the German-speaking world as the source of civilization and Europe. On the other, German forces have had occupied Ukraine in 1918 during World War I and that occupation was vastly different from 1941—1944. Ukraine could have its own government [Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskiy] and was more of an economic occupation than the military-political one. Metropolitan also would write to Joseph Stalin in 1944, also in a similar pastoral letter mentioned above, but certainly it did not make him a friend of the Soviet Union and Communism, the goal was to preserve the UGCC from further destruction.²¹⁷ In contrast, he had later published the pastoral letter “Thou Shalt not Kill” which is mentioned in this chapter, quoting it once and relating to it later with many secondary sources. First, it may look as it

²¹⁶ Ray Brandon, Wendy Lower, *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*, an article by Frank Golczewski, *Shades of Grey: Reflections on Jewish-Ukrainian and German-Ukrainian Relations in Galicia*, (Indiana University Press, 2008) at p. 146.

²¹⁷ Jordan Hupka, ‘The Russian Orthodox Church as a Soviet Political Tool’, (updated, 15 Jan. 2015) <<http://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/constellations/article/viewFile/10492/8074>>, accessed 15 Jan. 2015.

contradicts the message mentioned above. This letter was aimed at the Greek-Catholics, so they do not participate in the Nazi atrocities and do not collaborate. It was important to make a conclusion by showing *both of these* messages to prove that A. Sheptytsky did not see Nazi Germany as a positive force. Even if he expected a more or less civilized European army, soon it proved to him the opposite. Other activities such as hiding Jews from prosecutions and lack of evidence of collaboration support the given conclusion. After July 1941 A. Sheptytsky did not send any welcoming letters to the German army or its collaborators.

Simply could the Church itself resist both regimes that changed each other depending on who was stronger at the moment? A region where the Greek-Catholic authority was the largest could merely search for the way to stand in the middle, and try to use clandestine methods to achieve its goals [survival], and if this worked, then make further attempts to navigate its vision of how things should be in the region. Lala Fishman and Steven Weingartner [residents of Galicia during World War II] in their memoirs have shown that due to Andrei Sheptytsky's personal involvement many Jews were saved, including herself - here the UGCC, and particularly with the cover from Metropolitan used these clandestine ways.

It crossed my mind that many Ukrainians had collaborated with the Germans - was Dr. Gruchowsky one of them? He was not. With great pride he explained that he was the nephew of the Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytsky, wartime leader of the Ukrainian (Uniate) Catholic Church in Lvov - and a man who did much to help the Jews of Lvov after the city fell to the Germans in July 1941. "Your wife survived because of my uncle's role in the rescue of Jews," said Dr. Gruchowsky. He then informed me that his uncle, in addition to harboring Jews in his official residence and ordering his parishioners to refrain from violence against Jews, had instructed his clergymen to issue baptismal certificates and false documents to Jewish females. No doubt Lala got her documents as a result of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's directive.²¹⁸

Such witness based materials will be balancing or actually canceling out a pastoral letter, which welcomed the new occupation, bringing light over the real situation in the Church and its policies. Technically one of the reasons why this issue had begun to circulate so quickly in the chapter is that it stands right in the center of the period between 1941 and 1945 in western Ukraine. Without discussing it from the beginning is clearly impossible, and it shall be spreading through the whole chapter as a thin red line that cannot be unnoticed. Basically, did the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, scared by the previous Soviet authorities, as much as the whole population of the Ukraine's West, saw Germans as the factor, which could ease their position? On the other hand, the new occupation regime would use such a fear and blame it on the local cultural minorities (Jews, Roma, previous Polish dominance etc.) that experienced ethnic cleansing with Ukrainians in that past. Yitzhak Arad states it clearly in one of his essays.

For large segments of the population in the areas annexed to the Soviet Union in 1939-1940, the annexation, carried out against their will, aggravated their dislike of the Soviet regime. This short period of the Soviet rule in the annexed territories strengthened the existing anti-Semitism.

²¹⁸ Lala Fishman, Steven Weingartner, *Lala's Story: A Memoir of the Holocaust*, a foreword by Morris Fishman, (Northwestern University Press, 1997) at p. VII.

It was no surprise then that most of the local population greeted the German Army as liberators.²¹⁹

He makes the direct connection between past and the present, taking the principle of fear as the main cause of the local notion toward the newly established system.

II

German Factor in the Ukrainian Politics

To some extent the value of the German factor in Ukrainian politics was very powerful for many decades that preceded 1941, after all, Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovyna regions were previously incorporated in the Austro-Hungarian Empire [Austrian before 1868], this factor was specifically mentioned by Andrei Sheptytsky [although without any sympathy for the regime that existed in Germany after 1933]. One of the NKVD documents, which reports on the discussion between an agent and Sheptytsky cites it as follows:

[Sheptytsky]: “Do You think about hopes that are connected to the comeback of Poles to the past?”, [an agent]: “And Ukrainian nationalists, who wish the German victory?”, [Sheptytsky]: “And? Germany was bringing up local Ukrainians for half a century or more, did not stop promising them independence...”, [an agent]: “France was not merely promising an independence to Poland, but gave it, and how did it end up?”. [Sheptytsky]: “Poles are extremely haughty and consanguineous people”. [an agent]: “Ukrainians are not much clever if they believe in German protection, which is obviously sees all Slavs as manure”, [Sheptytsky]: “At the same Moscow will never agree to the full independence of Ukraine”, [an agent]: “This is one of the nationalistic handouts. In the modern world there are no fully independent nations or states. Nations and states should peacefully search for the solution of their conflicts”, [Sheptytsky]: “But is it practically possible? A nation, which is feeling itself suppressed, searches for means to get independence, and people who rule are not always agree to make a step back.”²²⁰

This conversation from the document [already mentioned in the previous chapter] made for the NKVD is showing this point of no return so to speak. It clearly shows the wish of Ukrainians to gain independence, and at the same time without any sympathy to fascism on the side of Sheptytsky [while mentioning such hopes for independence or possibly an autonomy], but only for the strive against suppression, including the former Second Polish Republic [first sentence]. When he said about decades, more than half a century of German-speaking influence in Ukraine [Austria controlled regions], and possibly the summer of 1918 when German forces controlled most of Ukraine following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Sheptytsky indeed put some

²¹⁹ David Bankier, Israel Gutman, *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution*, an article by Yitzhak Arad, *The Local Population in the German-Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union and its Attitude toward the Murder of the Jews*, (Berghahn Books, 2009) at p. 234.

²²⁰ Operative notification of the Lviv Regional NKVD about a conversation with the UGCC Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.65. -Case. C-9113. - Vol. 11. - pp. 368-370. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. C-9113.-Т.11.-Арк. 368-370.]*, [translated by me].

trust in the fact that Germany may give some sort of independence or autonomy to Ukraine that would inevitably assist the UGCC structure and autonomy too. He connected these wishes among many Ukrainians, whom he knew very well, especially after the Soviet domination between 1939-1941. It seems that most of the western Ukrainian population decided never to return to that period due to its ruthlessness and unfairness and used to say to the retreating Soviet forces. “Let you go back”, it actually became a phrase.²²¹ The only thing that was neither that well known to Ukrainian people of Galicia or Volhynia, nor to the Greek-Catholic Church that the Central powers as they were known thirty years earlier have disappeared, the days of the Austrian nobility of *Lemberg* [Lviv before 1918] came to the end a long time ago, Germany was different this time, and certainly was not planning neither any independence for Ukraine and any of its regions nor any assistance to make the Greek-Catholic Church larger or more prosperous. Hopes for these things did circulate, still, especially in the beginning of the war local population wished for the better, Nazi German occupation was not yet associated with scrutiny in the early days of the war. To end this paragraph, it may be interesting to cite one of the witnesses, who remembered and recalled this hour. Maria Savchyn was a young woman in 1941 and later became more famous for serving in the anti-Soviet resistance after 1944, her diaries are giving a first-hand account of nearly all the most important events of that time.

Secretly, I was glad, and I think so were my companions and other passengers on the platform. I was saying to myself, “Thank the Lord. This means that the Russians will soon be gone. This means the end of arrests, deportations to Siberia, collective farms.” Looking back, I realize that neither my friends nor I comprehended the consequences of this great war that was just beginning. We did not, and could not, imagine what the war would do to us, we would not have believed - I would not have - that the life we knew was at an end, and a much more difficult life lay before us.²²²

III

Mistrust in the UGCC

The new attitude may be summarized in a few sentences that were written by historian Giulia Lami, they really position the whole new situation for the UGCC.

The German authorities began to perceive the UGCC as a potential enemy, contesting its aim of total control and exploitation of the territory. The Church had to be transformed into a manageable bureaucracy and had to refrain from public activity, public address and other related activities.²²³

²²¹ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 140.

²²² Maria Savchyn Pyskir, *Thousands of Roads: A Memoir of a Young Woman's Life in the Ukrainian Underground During and After War World II*, (McFarland, 2001) at p. 14.

²²³ Joaquim Carvalho., (editor), *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence*, an article by Giulia Lami, *The Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine During the First Half of the 20th Century*, (Edizioni Plus, 2007) at p. 247.

The major difference was in the fact that there was no more atheistic propaganda, which could be directed by the government, it was not at the center of this new policy, however, in everything else both totalitarian regimes shared the same methods of exploitation, destruction and control. *The idea of class struggle was suddenly replaced by the racial theory.* Major difference between Hitlerism and Stalinism. Again the Greek-Catholic Church was put in the position of not having an independent future of itself [as much as for the country, or the region].

Some hoped for better conditions under the Nazis with the abrogation of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in June 1941, but were soon disabused as they watched the mass murders of Jews.²²⁴

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, who was not previously noticed in being involved with anti-Semitism, (actually in the previous chapter it was discussed that he was well educated in Hebrew, and was in good relations with the local Jewish community) could not see the Nazi regime as friendly. The future actions on his side, and on the side of the hierarchs that were close to him, his personal sympathy for the Jews will prove itself, it should be discussed a little later. Difficulties that came with the Nazi system could not be perceived with irrelevance by those who ran the UGCC, no ambassadorial tactics of existing together with this government could be used due to the lack of regular or real humanitarian laws of diplomatic commitment with this system could be functional. Both regimes differed in their views on the future with only one detail in their concepts, [major one, of course, if not looking at the difference in languages, cultures, etc.,] the vision of who is going to head the future of the world. In one case it was the proletariat, in another the race, and definitely both understandings of that future could not, and did not want to deal with Christianity on equal terms in their concepts of the future.²²⁵ UGCC was not an exception, especially if noticing the fact that this organization was part of the Slavic world, and therefore meaning that it had no future under the Nazi tyranny. There could be some small organizational exceptions that were left out for Galicia because it was part of the Austrian Empire for a long time, this precise issue was noted by Josyf Slipyj in his memoirs.

... Came for Professor Panchyshyn, however, he somehow was able to get away from their hands, and they did not capture him. During the occupation he was the head of the Faculty at the Medical Institute, had organized the medical department because Germans did not want to allow Ukrainians to have the Ukrainian University, as for the lower race, but agreed to open the Medical Institute only for the fact that Galician Ukrainians once belonged to Austria and in connection to this, Galicians could have some rights, the Greater Ukraine, none.²²⁶

This did not help a lot nor could assist the image of Galicians or the UGCC in the eyes of other regions of Ukraine, often this detail leads to accusations against the Church or Galicia in collaboration, but did they choose to be part of the Austrian Empire in the past? Nevertheless,

²²⁴ Paul Burns, *Butler's Saints of the Third Millennium: Butler's Lives of the Saints: Supplementary Volume*, (Continuum International Publishing Group, 2001) at p. 75.

²²⁵ Richard Bonney, *Confronting the Nazi War on Christianity: The Kulturkampf Newsletters, 1936-1939*, (Peter Lang, 2009) at p. 107.

²²⁶ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, pp. 140-141. [translated by me].

such a notion did exist, even though the University was forbidden, and no autonomy was granted.

IV

UGCC Outside of Galicia

It seems that the heads of the Church, including Andrei Sheptytsky [hence, without him such an idea was not possible], tried to move onto other Ukrainian territories, maybe this was the same plan as he kept since 1939, in one way or another Ukraine was not disunited by the borders. Laity, formerly Orthodox, particularly if it belonged to the educated classes started to visit the Greek-Catholic services in Kyiv.

Kiev's Ukrainian Orthodox intelligentsia also frequently attended the Greek Catholic services that from January 1942 were held in the formerly Roman Catholic St. Alexander Church.²²⁷

It may be seen as the policy that could support the unity of Ukraine, in one way or another assisted by the UGCC not merely in the western regions where it was traditionally powerful, but in the central area too. Technically this idea cannot find all the exact proves, but the fact that the Greek-Catholics were located at the St. Alexander church in Kyiv is certain. Sheptytsky was ruling the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine for more than forty years, his popularity among the people in Galicia was powerful enough during the Nazi occupation as much as during the Soviet one. They have equally tried not to touch him, while understanding that his removal from the leadership in the UGCC could lead to the strengthening of the sabotages, protests, or other forms of resistance against the occupation, to them even after he wrote a letter to Himmler, where he had openly accused the Nazi policies in the anti-human behavior, still he remained in place.

When the Nazis began to implement their policy of genocide against the Jews, Sheptytsky sent a letter to Heinrich Himmler in February 1942, protesting vigorously against it and the use of Ukrainian auxiliary police.²²⁸

Clearly, various totalitarian forces could feel the importance of the Greek-Catholic organization, and in one way or another kept themselves aside from it, or managed to create talks with them [while putting it under constant surveillance], possibly use it if there was an opportunity. This 'usage' issue is overly sensitive too because it also throws some shadow over the Church, and before getting into this, it may be interesting to cite Josyf Slipyj when he directly talked about this matter. His position is not the only one, and more opinions shall be brought to the light further on in the study.

²²⁷ Karel Cornelis Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine Under Nazi Rule*, (Harvard University Press, 2004) at p. 246.

²²⁸ Michael R. Marrus (editor), *The Nazi Holocaust. Part 5: Public Opinion and Relations to the Jews in Nazi Europe, Volume 1*, an article by Taras Hunczak, *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Soviet and Nazi Occupations*, (Walter de Gruyter, 1989) at p. 406.

When division “Galicia” was created, I was supposed to serve the Holy Mass for the recruits replacing Metropolitan, it was visited by the governor Wechter, and the sermon was read out by Father Laba. After the service, Wechter came up and thanked me by saying that the Mass “war ein Erlebnis für mich”. I was asked to stand on the honorary tribune during the defilade, however, I did not go, and Wechter really needed me to be there, so he asked where I am, but others somehow excused me. I also did not visit the exception ceremony. When the division was organized, and other cases took place, I have turned now Metropolitan’s attention, so the Church was not engaged in the Hitlerian impressions because they will leave, and then it should be necessary to take responsibility. Moreover, the Bolshevik offensive was moving fast. Sadly, it happened exactly in this way. All who were engaged in one way or another with Germans left for the West, and above everyone else, the Volksdeutsche. I was afraid that Germans would move us out from St. Jura [Cathedral., O.K.] and took us with them, also they have given us a separate train. Meanwhile, nobody came to me, thanks to God I have remained on the place.²²⁹

He had clearly stated that there was no wish on the side of the higher Church authority to collaborate, they have known the bad side of such developments, which possessed moral indoctrination that would stain everyone, who somehow was being involved. The general position of the population was based on revenge, and possibly this was the major reason why volunteers went for “Galicia” or for the auxiliary police, they in one way or another wanted to keep the Red Army or any threats associated with it away from their territory. Nevertheless, collaboration existed and the UGCC found itself in a somewhat difficult position.

On the road to Krynytsi, I saw how ferociously Germans were beating up our people. I remember, what kind of humiliating impression it caused, and the worst was that this turned to be impossible to stop.²³⁰

Certainly, there was no personal sympathy for the Nazi cause or wishes to stand on the same level with the Hitler’s Germany, the next Metropolitan explains this well, and by not leaving Ukraine in 1944 he proves it. Those who had more sympathy certainly wanted to run as fast as possible, not to get trapped by the Soviet forces, but if it may be said [without any bias], truly dedicated clerics have decided to stay and share all the hardships with the population of their land. It worked in this way for Josyf Slipyj and thousands of priests, who later on did not resign from the Union, and kept their allegiances to the Pope, they also did not run away from their parochial administrative territories that were taken by the Red Army.

V

Divided Ukrainian Population. Nazi Atrocities

Once again, the geopolitical position of Ukraine between East and West played its role in this whole story, in many ways it can be said that the war itself went through Ukraine, dividing its people even further. The collaborationism itself was not accepted by the UGCC as the

²²⁹ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, pp. 146. [translated by me].

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

righteous thing and certainly became less important to the public consciousness sometime after 1942 [or at least during that year].

Ukrainian national aspirations, however, were frustrated by German rule and from the autumn of 1942 onwards Ukrainian policeman deserted in increasing numbers to form their own nationalist partisan units in the forests, where they continued to fight against all ‘enemies’ of a Ukrainian state.²³¹

This view on things that took place in Ukraine [particularly its western regions] is in many ways supported by many other accounts, no independence and the rule of justice came through, one invading ‘uniform’ was not much different from the other according to many local people (it was also noted before, that both regimes were equally ruthless; even though an ideology was different - class struggle, race domination), and it turned out that there was no escape, but to form some kind of force of resistance that would be standing on its own positions, without listening to the occupational authorities. However, it will be discussed a little later, at this moment it may be crucial to see what was done by the highest UGCC authorities to stop the anti-Semitic campaign, and what was their personal involvement in dealing with the issue. It was already said before, that Sheptytsky wrote a letter to Himmler, with his disguise against the use of Ukrainians in a campaign against the Jews. Soon after, he decided to make his stand appear more clearly. Basically, it may be curious to see the difference between Latin and Eastern Rites during that time. It’s well discussed in an interview with Zhanna Kowba, a senior lecturer at the Kyiv Institute of Culture carried out by Isabella Hruslinska and Piotr Tyma, Polish culturologists, who specialize in Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation. The answers are well worth citing.

It’s not that simple to compare the situation of Greek-Catholic hierarchy, even Sheptytsky himself, with the Roman-Catholic. Greek-Catholics to some degree were tolerated by the Nazis because the German aggression was aimed at Poland as the enemy of the Reich. Poles and Polish hierarchs were in a much worse position. That is why, perhaps, Sheptytsky could stand up with his message “Thou Shalt not Kill”, maybe too late and censored, and Boleslaw Twardowski could not [The Roman-Catholic Archbishop and Metropolitan of Lviv., O.K]. Now it’s known that Sheptytsky was hiding the Rabbi of Lviv, helped to save the sons of E. Levin and other Jews.²³²

This issue never left the UGCC, historically it was in one or another way accused of being closer to the occupational regime, in many ways due to the reason given in these sentences. Sheptytsky was in a better, possibly safer position, otherwise, how could he produce the message, which openly accused Nazi politics? Still in this work, the larger strain will be put on his authority, he could not be touched that simply because it could make an additional anti-occupation rebellion in the areas where the UGCC was strong. But, Kowba clearly makes

²³¹ Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941-1944*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) at p. 102.

²³² Isabella Hruslinska, Piotr Tyma, *The Dialogs of Understanding: Ukrainian-Jewish Relations* [Діалоги Порозуміння: Українсько-Єврейські Відносини], an interview with Zhanna Kowba, (Dukh i Litera, 2011) at p. 47. [translated by me].

another point with which it may be hard to disagree, Hitler's position against Poland was originally much worse, he had originally invaded the Second Polish Republic, and Lviv was part of it. It may be added that possibly the divide and rule principle [here, dividing Slavs against themselves] was also somewhere at work. It may be interesting to find more proves to this statement, but let's not distract from the Church issues, hence it's the main topic. The Roman-Catholic Church in Poland was more than just a religious institution, but clearly represented the national and cultural values, previous divisions of Poland made the state weaker, however, it strengthened the RCC - during the war this position of Latin Church made it extremely vulnerable.²³³ On the other hand, the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine was somewhat as an extension of Catholicism against the Orthodox East [particularly during the Russo-Polish conflicts back in history, the policy of conversions etc.], and it distanced the UGCC away from Poland, therefore, making it the secondary target of the Hitlerian aggression.²³⁴ Nevertheless, it's impossible to say that this position was making the UGCC an invader's ally of any sort, just temporarily put it out of the range, so to speak. Kurt I. Lewin, a son of the Rabbi of Lviv once said the following:

World War II was an opening to the madness of the world which you see today and it's a privilege for me and for you to be able to see a man [like Sheptytsky]; it's like touching the stars and being inspired by it... It's a ray of humanity at its best, a ray of religion and faith at its strongest.²³⁵

During the occupation, Kurt Lewin was a boy without any possibilities to survive on his own, and he was saved by Andrei Sheptytsky. Metropolitan's letter to Himmler had a certain resonance in Berlin, the addressee made a rude reply and sent it back to Lviv, so the local security service could take care of it. Sheptytsky was not arrested for the above-mentioned fears of rebellions, but the Ukrainian National Council in Lviv was closed in which the Metropolitan was an honorary chairman.²³⁶ The whole legality of the UGCC was now hanging in the air because any small decision to put it outside of the current law could be decided just by one small signature. However, those who were deciding it, concluded that time can wait, and possibly such a decision was depending on the same reasoning the first Soviet occupation depended on, there was no final victory yet. The previous chapter described this notion in detail. It could be that Berlin wanted western Ukrainian territories to stay out of any open uprisings that would certainly follow if the UGCC and particularly its leader became outlawed. "Thou Shalt Not Kill" pastoral letter was presented to the laity in every UGCC temple, large and small, and replaced the Sunday sermon, it relied on fear of the God's retaliation against people that

²³³ Peter C. Kent, *Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII: The Roman Catholic Church and the Division of Europe, 1943-1950*, (McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP, 2002) at pp. 35-36.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²³⁵ The interview with Kurt Lewin was conducted by David Mills 31 May 1968. The original tapes of the interview are in this author's archives.

²³⁶ Kost Pankivsky, *The Years of German Occupation*, [Роки німецької окупації], (New York, 1965), at pp. 29-30. Also see Kurt I. Lewin, "Archbishop Andreas Sheptytsky and the Jewish Community in Galicia during the Second World War", (Unitas, 1960) at pp. 137-138.

shed innocent blood and make of themselves outcasts of human society by disregarding the sanctity of man.²³⁷

Andrei Sheptytsky really tried to halt the collaboration among his Church followers, within the laity, which did not yet understand the danger of their actions. In other words, he had officially opened another opinion that was supposed to blame those, who violated it because it was going against the UGCC's worldview, its policies, and the God himself. It also may be concluded that this way was possibly the strongest in the Church's arsenal of ideological weapons against what it believed to be wrong, especially if it was made public, under the threat of arrests, surveillance, and prosecutions. There is plenty of evidence that certainly not only Metropolitan was acting on the side of human piety during that time, it's been reported that Father Marko was able to save forty Jewish children, and was personally taking care of this task.²³⁸ This was not taking place only in western Ukraine, where the UGCC was based, but, for example in Marseille, local Ukrainian parish priest, Valentyn Bakst was hiding Jews in his church, and was noted in issuing them documents that gave them the way to safety, [his church was serving Ukrainian seaport employees].²³⁹

VI

Lack of Control and Inability to Influence the Events

Definitely, the UGCC leadership was not able to influence the whole array of processes that took place during the Nazi occupation, it could merely give hints, post pastoral letters that were censored [as in the case of Sheptytsky], but got the main idea through the shadow. Moreover, this letter also alludes to the issues of fraternal conflicts within the Ukrainian community, particularly within the OUN factions headed by Bandera and Melnyk [the first is often related to collaborationists and far-right nationalists, and latter to much more democratic side of the OUN, non-collaborationist wing, both were enemies to each other].²⁴⁰ Later on, Andrei Sheptytsky did not hide his position, and when meeting Dr. Frederic in September 1943, a representative of the German Foreign Ministry, he clearly pointed out all the violence that was carried out against the Jews, showing his accusation of it all.²⁴¹ It may be interesting to point out the whole problem, which existed before the occupation, times that go twenty or thirty years back, and here is what the Polish parliamentary representative and an activist Milena Rudnytska said about the Jewish-Ukrainian relations.

²³⁷ Published in *Lvivski arkhieparkhialni vidomosti* [Archieparchal Digest of Lviv] 55, # 11, (November 1942) at pp. 177-183.

²³⁸ Leo Heiman, *They Saved Jews*, (s.n., 1962) at p. 331. Also see *Ukrainian Quarterly* 17, #4, (Winter, 1961) at p. 328.

²³⁹ Philip Friedman, *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Nazi Occupation*, (YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science 12, 1958-9) at p. 265.

²⁴⁰ *Lvivski arkhieparkhialni vidomosti*, pp. 177-183.

²⁴¹ Michael Robert Marrus, *The Nazi Holocaust. Part 5: Public Opinion and Relations to the Jews in Nazi Europe, Volume 1*, an article by Philip Friedman, *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Nazi Occupation*, (Walter de Gruyter, 1989) at p. 391.

[In Galicia] during the interwar Polish period, both the Ukrainian and Jewish communities lived their secluded lives separated by a wall of mutual resentments. It is strange that even political leaders who cooperated with each other in Warsaw maintained neither political nor personal contacts in Lviv. They did not even sit behind a common table to explain and decide upon mutual grievances and mutual claims.²⁴²

Such problems were rooted for a long time and became absolutely complicated during the Nazi occupation. Neither UGCC nor other local Church organizations could resolve it because technically any open action, especially if it was more than just a pastoral letter, or the process of hiding Jews, let's say the call for an open rebellion, would certainly lead to the annihilation of that given organization. At the same time, here is another point of view on relations between Ukrainians and Jews before World War II period. In the early twentieth century, Nathan Birnbaum, a famous Zionist, and an associate of Theodor Herzl, wrote.

Out of all European nations merely Ruthenians did not co work with establishment of the great worldwide conspiracy against Jews. What previously used to be the case of their instinct, now they, Ruthenians, continue as the self-conscious policy... Ruthenians, among which possibly most of the Jews live, do not demand their assimilation.²⁴³

Way back in 1869 Father Stepan Kachala, one of the founders of “Prosvita” organization [concentrated upon cultural and educational issues, and was backed by Andrei Sheptytsky] was focusing on the issue of relations between Jews and Ruthenians [Ukrainians of Galicia before XX century], and saw Jewish community as an example for many of his countrymen. In his book for peasants “What Destroys us, and What Can Help”, he argued that drunkenness, lack of education, inability to self-organize in order to righteously gain and spend with caution, he saw Jews as people that could give an example, they did not drink much, had schools, taught their children and knew how to trade.²⁴⁴ Relations between the Greek-Catholics and Jews in Galicia were not that complicated, especially when it came to those, who were educated, particularly local priests. They knew Jewish tradition from theology, respected them, and often talked to each other about these issues. Further on it will be noted that Sheptytsky was contacting Jewish publishers for the new books they have made, particularly what was touching the sphere of theology. Way back in 1934 Andrei Sheptytsky wrote an article called “Who is guilty?” where he was giving his critical position on the social situation.

While looking at the scary ruin into which our people in western Ukraine fell, at the unprecedentedly heavy worries, ruin of our schooling, far poverty of our villages, unemployment of the intelligent youth, deep misery in which our children have to be raised up, get educated; at the strong decline of morals in the villages, lack of result of our preaching, at the fact that how easily people, even from intelligentsia step over the Seventh Commandment, looking at the sinfulness of youth, lack of conscience among the old, at the scary mire into

²⁴² Milena Rudnytska, (newspaper article), *Pomer Dr. Emil Zomershtein, Kolyshnii Lider Halyskykh Evrejev*, [Former Leader of the Galician Jews, Dr. Emil Somerstein had Died], (Svoboda, Jersey City, 1957).

²⁴³ M. Archer, *Die Jüdische nationale Bewegung*, (Ruthenische Revue, Wien, 1905, #14) at pp. 36-37.

²⁴⁴ Zhanna Kowba, <http://www.judaica.kiev.ua/Kahane/Kahane_Dod2.html>: Rabbis and Catholic Clergy in Eastern Galicia during Holocaust, updated, January 23. 2015), accessed January 23. 2015.

which we fall even deeper... Looking at the growing danger of alcoholism... At the ruin of everything what may become the shadow of hope for the Motherland, - I have asked myself, what is the reason for this miserable condition? Thence, the logic of facts continuously led me to another question: shouldn't we above all, search for the reason of that ruin in ourselves.²⁴⁵

Metropolitan Sheptytsky was known all over Galicia for his good attitude toward Jews, he sent annual greetings with Passover to the local Jewish community, and these greetings also included money. Metropoly Ordinariate Archive preserves numerous letters that include those written by the Jewish organizations or private persons to Sheptytsky with requests for help or information about new books produced by the Jewish publishers.²⁴⁶ These positive factors did reflect the general position of Sheptytsky and many hierarchs, when the Nazi policies came to their territory, previous misunderstanding, cultural differences, met with piety, after all the Greek-Catholic Church was not, and did not wish the destruction of Jews before, and during the occupation too.

VII

Attempts to Strengthen Christian Values. Further Fracturing of Ukrainian Society.

Based on the Metropolitan's initiatives, beginning from 1941 Archieparchial Councils of the Greek-Catholic Church were including talks with the meaning to popularize God's Commandments among priests and through them among the laity. Before each of these Councils, the Metropolitan was addressing them with a pastoral letter. Some of them were published in the Archieparchial Digest, in the Ukrainian newspapers, "Lvivs'ki Visti" [Lviv News], "Krakivs'ki Visti [Krakow News], "Ridna Zemlya" [Motherland], in short or full versions. Recently, in the Central State Historical Archive of the Supreme Government of Ukraine among the documents regarding the Fund of the OUN, there was detected a notebook with technical writings of the governing body of the Metropolitan's Ordinariate of the Greek-Catholic Church from July 1941 to July, 1944. Among them, there were pastoral letters, appeals to priests, orders. One-third of them was signed by the Metropolitan.²⁴⁷ The UGCC leadership tried to use pastoral methodology while looking critically at the laity it was responsible for, prior to the war and when it was already going on, during the occupation. The above mentioned archival material shows that Sheptytsky did contact the OUN [Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists, at least one of them because OUN was strongly fractured on at least two different organizations since the 1930s, and led by very different people] and tried to influence them with his pastoral word.²⁴⁸ His basic aim was to take them out of collaboration, so they remember the Ten Commandments, listen to their priests, etc. Certainly, everything was

²⁴⁵ Archieparchal Digest of Lviv, [*Lvivski arkhieparkhialni vidomosti*], 1934, vol. XLVII, p. 45., [translated by me].

²⁴⁶ Central State Historical Archive in Lviv, *F. 358, Register.1, Case #113, 105, 145.*

²⁴⁷ Central State Historical Archive of the Supreme Government and Management of Ukraine, [Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України, (ЦДАВО України)], *F. 3383, Register.3, Case. 13. [Ф. 3383, Оп. 3, Спр. 13].*

²⁴⁸ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, pp. 143.

supposed to be kept in secret and diplomatic wise, so the occupation government would not crush the whole Church. As it was shown a few lines before, Sheptytsky did not see his people from the perfect point of view, he had known that they are far from being good, he criticized them for low morals, bad education, social and economic problems, and at the same time blamed the people (possibly himself to some extent) for not being able to raise up from the ditch. He did expose such criticism in highly moral words shown above. This issue was going through the conscious of every priest, who became responsible for his standing, stay aside or reach out to help, move toward those circles in the Church that give help already, or out of fear to be prosecuted by Gestapo keep silent. This was one of the major tests for the UGCC, its clergy, and laity too because for it, this was the same exam for conscious, shall morality fail or prevail?

VIII

Metropolitan Sheptytsky and the Holocaust. Saving Jews in Lviv

Basically, only clandestine methods were left out for hierarchs as Metropolitan Sheptytsky or the RCC Archbishop of Lviv Twardowski. It seems that the hiding practice was the only possible way out, and as it was noticed before, issuing of the fake identification documents was also widely used if they wanted to put Jews into safety. A structural system of the Church was also used, Sheptytsky had organized some 550 monks and nuns to save up to two hundred Jewish children.²⁴⁹ It should be recalled that Metropolitan's brother Klymentiy was heading [archimandrite] the Studite monasteries, and at the same time, his sister Josepha was leading the UGCC nunneries. He was able to organize such tasks through the people he knew very well, those who would never betray and report to the occupation authorities. After all, structure of the Church, the ability to keep personal secrets, quietness of the monastery walls was the most powerful tool in carrying out these clandestine tasks. Metropolitanate was using them and reached a lot of success, but of course, could not save everyone, stop the killing and completely reverse the situation. Rabbi David Kahane was completely covered by the Metropolitan, he was given another identity as the Greek-Catholic librarian and was teaching Hebrew to monks, this saved him throughout the rest of the war.²⁵⁰ Notably, *none of the monks, who were getting these lessons, did not report on him*, thus, it shows the degree of brotherhood and obedience to Sheptytsky, but, mostly the fact that they agreed with the latter's standing. To have a total influence on the local laity was hard to accomplish, even more difficult was to influence the General Government to slow down repressions against those, who were considered to be the enemies in Nazi Germany, technically it was impossible. Nevertheless, not merely clandestine actions led by Sheptytsky played a role in wielding the tide. Metropolitan's personal driver Ivan Girny [who later lived in New York] used to recall those occupation days during his visit to Lviv in 1997. He said that the pastoral letter "Thou Shalt Not Kill" had an influence and authority among the laity. As proof, he told a story of the General Secretary of the Civil

²⁴⁹ Leo Heiman, *They Saved Jews*, (Ukrainian Quarterly 17, #4, Winter 1961) at p. 328.

²⁵⁰ Ray Brandon, Wendy Lower, *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*, p. 144.

Solidarity Committee with the Soviet Jews, David Prital', who lived in kibbutz Maal Hamish in Israel. D. Prital' was saved by a local Ukrainian, Ivan Yaciuk, and he remembered how Jews were saved in the villages.²⁵¹ One of the most prominent saviors of Jews during the Nazi occupation of Galicia was Father Emilian Kovch. In Peremyshlyany old people still remember how Father Emilian had saved Jews from being burned alive in the synagogue. In September or at the beginning of October 1941, the town was visited by an SS unit on motorcycles, it had surrounded the local synagogue where Jews were getting prepared to pray. The unit decided to close the doors and fired up the synagogue and nearby buildings. A few Jews screaming ran for Father Emilian to get help. Together with his son, he ran towards the synagogue and screamed at SS officers in German to step away and began to open the main doors. His son and a few other people were helping to do the task. For the SS unit, it was unexpected, and after seeing this sort of reaction they have left the town. Father and son began to take out barely alive people from the synagogue, and it was reported that nobody had died. They told them to run away where it was possible because SS could return.²⁵² Later on, Father Emilian Kovch was arrested by the Gestapo for his actions and was sent to KL-Majdanek where he was eventually murdered, and later on was canonized as a martyr by the UGCC.²⁵³ This case was probably not merely influenced by the policy, which was organized by the Church leadership, but was moved by intentions that were rooted in Father Emilian way before any synodal rescript came from above. His example is particularly strong because of how quickly he had reacted once there was a danger for someone he possibly did not know in person, however, sought it as his pastoral or human duty to run and give help. The UGCC can truly be proud of Father Emilian, who is now considered to be one out of 2, 185 Ukrainians that were officially recognized by the Israeli national Holocaust memorial and research Center, Yad Vashem as a rescuer.²⁵⁴

IX

Pastoral Letters of Sheptytsky

During those days Sheptytsky wrote:

When there is no possibility to openly protest against such crimes in the press and voice out blaming on that crime, push away the laity from it, and above all our youth, then more thoroughly, more often and, thus, more decisively should raise up the voice of the Christian sermon.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ Reminiscences of A. Girny, published by *Vysokyj Zamok*, September 12, 1997. [Спогади А.Гірного, *Високий замок*, вересень 12, 1997].

²⁵² Anna Maria Kovch-Baran, Emil Baran, Olena Baran, *For God's Truth and Human Rights*, (Baran, 2006) at pp. 22-61.

²⁵³ Norman Davies, *Europe at War 1939-1945: No Simple Victory*, (Pan MacMillan, 2008) at p. 415.

²⁵⁴ Wendy Lower, *The Diary of Samuel Golfard and the Holocaust in Galicia*, (Rowman Altamira, 2011) at p. 20.

²⁵⁵ Central State Historical Archive of the Supreme Government and Management of Ukraine, [Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України, (ЦДАВО України)], F. 3383, Register.3, Case. 13, p. 31. [Ф. 3383, Оп. 3, Спр. 13. арк. 31], [translated by me].

Once again he tried to stress upon the preaching, voice out the Christian values that were going against violence, ethnic cleansing, and dictatorship. As during the previous period of occupation, most of his worries dealt with the growing generation that could be left out without moral guides, and most likely forget traditions. Between 1939-1941 the UGCC also had no ability to have its newspapers, where it was possible to underline the real political position of the Metropol, why, and how they blame that system. Pastoral letters, messages to one or another official, Khrushchev or Himmler [both received similar letters of protest], clandestine way to save the Jews and at the same time try to survive on its own. The previous chapter mentioned Sheptytsky's letter to the Communist Youth Organization, which called it not to press Catholic youth into its lines, this time, once over, he was trying to hold it from sins that were in one way or another connected with immorality of collaboration and ethnic cleansing. It seems that the UGCC leadership knew that their region is not the richest in the world, and not the most moral too, so it tried to use all available instruments [clerical and religious] to shape it out from the misery.

On the first place let's represent it in simple words, power, holiness and greatness of the God's Law, which asks to love your neighbor as yourself, thus, the shining image from Heaven, representation of the God's virtues, love against the dreadful crime of murder, which is the deepest opponent of that heavenly and saintly obligation of people through which they can clear their earthly happiness and eternal life in Heaven. The true love unites all thy neighbors. It seems that love goes for the close ones, and for those who are further away it goes less, however, the Christian love should unite everyone. In the Old Testament it was said: Love thy neighbor and hate the enemy. Christ told us: "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be children of your father in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous". Therefore, the one who is reaching for the dreadfulness of going against the God's Fifth Commandment, is the worst before God, that one is rejecting and destroying the holy all uniting Christian love: "Thou Shalt Not Kill!" Murderer is unplugging himself from that God's unity, from that family which according to God's predestination should be the whole humanity. Deadly sin against the coexistence of people, murderer is getting separated from the unity of people and pulls the great Divine punishment upon himself in eternity, and the terrible Divine curse in this world.²⁵⁶

These are extracts from the above-mentioned "Thou Shalt Not Kill" pastoral letter, which was published and sent to every local church in October-November, 1942. In these powerful words, he is not trying to judge his own people, the laity, which is far from being perfect. He is overly critical and sends them a message of accusation, and a clear warning to those, who are planning to go for murdering, collaboration, and hatred against their neighbors. Technically, Sheptytsky and therefore the voice of the UGCC is not possessing any idealistic pictures regarding his people, at that point, he certainly knows about the whole variety of crimes that they were involved in, and particularly those that may be connected to the means of co-working with the occupational government. He is standing merely with the Biblical parallels and notions of piety, the last sentence in the above-cited text is clearly sending the

²⁵⁶ Ibid., Central State Historical Archive of the Supreme Government and Management of Ukraine, F. 3383, Op.3, Case. 13, p. 31. [translated by me].

message of fear and warning to anyone, who may listen to it. At the same time, Sheptytsky wrote some words from Matthew trying to put out not only fear as the basic precursor of piety, but good deeds and eternal love for the whole world, and even the enemies. In other words, “Thou Shalt Not Kill” was the message of peace, hidden accusation of the regime, and collaborators, typically theological ways to stop it by inflicting fear of God, and with an example of Christ, and his love for the world.

X

Collaborationists. Nationalist Factions. The position of Jews.

As it was noted before, collaboration was largely influenced by the past of the region, its hopes for an independence or autonomy, almost complete lack of knowledge about the invader [not to all though, and even to those, who did not know, still cannot be used as an excuse for collaboration of any kind], and why he is going for Ukraine; commoners did not know all of these issues as much as many OUN factions. Eventually, right during the summer of 1941, all the power was given to the 17th Army, and here was one of its first orders:

Wishes of Ukrainians to establish political independence within the Ukrainian national state, and creation of the Ukrainian army should be halted in the battlefield zone. Military is not supposed to explain Ukrainians its position toward this issue.²⁵⁷

It clearly obvious that nothing is going to happen, the Church (of any denomination) will not be free from the new occupation authorities, racial policies will be implied, and *Ukrainians were not good according to the racial theory*, independence or autonomy was not planned at all, nothing was mentioned about the Church too. Occupation governor Frank used to say that the future of the foreign people, who live in these lands [meaning Galicia, Volhynia, and the rest of Ukraine etc.,] was the matter of what would happen later, but during the war, it was important not to create social upheavals in the conquered regions.²⁵⁸ This message may explain why people as Andrei Sheptytsky or other prominent UGCC figures were not arrested or deported, the fear of social turbulence was not wished by the regime. The same was actually said about the letter to Himmler, the latter was very angry, but decided not to touch Sheptytsky for exactly the same reason, no rebellions were needed. OUN factions were expecting some degree of autonomy, but it did not come at all, even the language that was used on the official level turned to be German, non-other speech could achieve such a status.

²⁵⁷ Volodymyr Kosyk, *Ukraine and Germany in the Second World War*, [Україна і Німеччина в Другій Світовій Війні], (Paris, New York, Lviv, 1993) at p. 119. [translated by me].

²⁵⁸ Ryszard Torzecki, *Poles and Ukrainians: Ukrainian Cause during the Second World War on the Borders of the Second Polish Republic*, [Polacy i Ukraińcy: Sprawa Ukrainka w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie Drużej Rzeczypospolitej], (Warszawa, 1993) at pp. 122-123.

About the administrative organization in the Galicia district: German is an official language of the district. Ukrainian and Polish languages are allowed. Laws and rights that were acting so far, and if they contradict the German administration, lose its power.²⁵⁹

These words were printed in the Lviv News [Lvivs'ki Visti] in September 1941. It clearly indicated that only the German occupation administration is going to be in charge of the local policy-making, no autonomy, no rights to use local languages on the same level with German, the only official tongue of the regime. The UGCC was obviously not planning to stand for such a situation, but did not have any legal powers in order to resist in open, no political representation to do so, only survive, and maybe help others to do the same. It should be mentioned that Protestants of Galicia and Volhynia were reported to disagree with the occupation, particularly these were Baptists of Volhynia, and Seventh Day Adventists in Galicia, both groups were aiding the local Jews [also by trying to hide them away from the catchers].²⁶⁰ Previously, there was a mentioning of Father Valentin Bakst, who was working in the Marseille parish. He became known for issuing documents for many local Jews, and by means of that was able to save many, and at the same time he was not alone, parishioners were involved in the process. Eventually, his activities were discovered by the administration and he was forced to flee, later on, he was in charge of the children's association among which most of them were Jews [in the region of Haute-Savoie Department]; luckily most of them were later secretly trafficked into Switzerland.²⁶¹ These cases show that the UGCC was not possessing anti-semitic or truly determined collaborationist ideology, even though it wanted at least an autonomy to Ukraine (perhaps in some parts of it), but certainly it did not develop any serious ideology of collaborationism, it did not turn into a Vichy - as much as none of the Ukrainian territories were allowed to have any sort of self-governance. Those Ukrainians who did [and if they have belonged to the Greek-Catholic denomination] their supreme hierarch tried to halt by using theology as the major ecclesiastical tool, but certainly could not achieve the perfect result. For example, the two most famous Jewish figures that were in contact with Andrei Sheptytsky at that time were Rabbi David Kahane, and Rabbi Dr. Ezekiel Lewin, both remained very influential within the Jewish community of Lviv throughout the 1930s. According to Rabbi Lewin's son Kurt Lewin, his father visited Metropolitan at his residence on the St. Jura Hill on July 2, 1941, the latter proposed him to stay there in order to escape the prosecutions, however, he refused and went back to his people; eventually Rabbi Lewin was murdered and according to his son, it was done by other Ukrainians, who joined the collaboration.²⁶² In many ways, it represents the relationship within the society during the Nazi occupation in the Ukraine's West. The highest authority of the Greek-Catholic community, probably one of the most important spiritual leaders of Galicia (and beyond) in all of its history was saving Jews, tried to offer them asylum in his residence, etc., and others who belonged to the same nation with him, who also could be of the same denomination, tried to collaborate. This example with

²⁵⁹ State Archive of the Lviv Region [DALO], F. year. 37. Register. 1, Case. 13, pp. 2-26. *Lvivski Visti*, [Lviv News, September 1], Ф. p. 37. Оп. 1, Справа. 13, арк. 2-26.

²⁶⁰ *Yalkut Volin*, I, # 7, p. 30. Eisenstein-Keshev, B., op. citation., pp.72-73. Also, see Elsa Silver [testimony], and Simon Schechter; both in the Yivo Archives.

²⁶¹ Mark Khinoy, *Forverts*, October 9, 1945.

²⁶² Yitshak Lewin, *Aliti mi-spetsyah*, (Tel Aviv, 1947) at pp. 27, 59. Also, see the letter written by Kurt Lewin to Roman Boytzun: December, 6, 1984.

Rabbi Lewin of Lviv really shows the wider picture of what took place back then in the occupied Ukraine, within the UGCC-Ukraine-occupation regime triangle. A story about the last day of Rabbi Lewin should be told here in its full version due to the vivid importance it shows in the life of the mentioned social triangle.

XI

Anti-Jewish Atrocities in Lviv

On the morning of July 1, 1941, a few concerned people ran into a house in which Rabbi Lewin was living and told him that the Ukrainian crowd is gathering to beat or haze Jews. Lewin thought that the only thing that can stop evil in the human souls is the word of God, he went to Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Probably the most authoritative person, which could try to do something about this situation and even apply some influence. Later it proved that the crowd did not really listen to him. His son Kurt has written in his memoirs.

My father put on the traditional rabbinical clothes, black gloves, asked me to translate a few sentences from Polish to Ukrainian, and together with two elders of the Temple had left for the St. Jura. He said farewell to us with the same calmness and obedience to the destiny as when previously each Tuesday he was leaving for the NKVD interrogations.²⁶³

Metropolitan was shocked after hearing all of this and said that he is going to appeal to the German authorities immediately, sent priests and monks to the streets in order to stop the pogrom. Sheptytsky proposed Lewin to stay at his residence for as long as it was necessary to halt the street hazing, however, the Rabbi was strongly determined to stay with his congregation and share all the hardships with them. On the way home, he was stopped by a bunch of young men, was beaten down, and dragged to the *Brygidka* jail. The same evening Rabbi was killed. Kurt was also taken out of his house by force and sent to the same jail with his father, he was witnessing the latter's death.

Suddenly I had seen my father, alone he was convoyed by the German soldiers and was forced to stand in the corner of the inner jail yard. He was singing "Shema Israel" and other imprisoned ones were repeating after him. Some good man, who was standing nearby had closed my eyes when soldier have fired. Thus, my father murdered while trying to defend his congregation. Leastways, the death had saved him from the agony of suffering, humiliation and horrors of a systematic annihilation of the Jewish communities in gas chambers at the death camps.²⁶⁴

Eventually, it seems that everyone had to simply remain human at all the levels of society, regardless of pressure placed on the individual, or turn into a traitor of morals, someone who cannot distinguish good from the bad. What the Church was doing, what could be carried out by its leadership was done, Kurt Lewin was saved, and if the Metropolitan could not stop

²⁶³ Kurt I. Lewin, *A Journey Through Illusions*, (Santa Barbara, Fithian Press, 1994) at pp. 23-24, 31.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24, 31.

the crowd or convince Rabbi to stay at the St. Jura residence to save him, at least Sheptytsky was able to save his son.

XII

Sheptytsky is Trying to Inform the Vatican of the Situation in Ukraine

The UGCC tried to use its international connections, especially the Vatican to somehow establish its position or at least explain what is taking place in the occupied territories. It was especially important because back then that was impossible to give the whole picture of life and realities without having someone, whom in this case the Church could trust. Vatican and Pope Pius XII was that particular figure, the leadership of the UGCC wrote him letters of confidence that gave a lot of information about what the Greek-Catholic Church thinks in this tragic occupation-controlled context.

For villagers there was established the system of slavery, and moreover, the country youth is arrested and forced to leave for Germany, peasants are robbed of everything what they produce. The death sentence was introduced for the purchase of anything directly from the producer²⁶⁵

Sheptytsky saw the outrageous treatment of anyone in the lands where his leadership spread, he did not know how to stop it and possibly saw no hope at that time. However, there is some evidence, which suggests that he was not sure of acceptance among his own people, he felt that the Church is not all-powerful over those who had decided to step over the moral values, and even his personal legacy may have different judgments.

I know that some will reject me, others will curse, I may be understood merely by my close ones after passing to God. I am aware of the fact that I will be named “politician on the Metropolitan’s seat” or “chauvinist in a cassock” because the world had somehow imagined that the Holy Gospel should be only the spiritual food, and material existence has nothing to do with the Gospel, however, the Saviour Himself was teaching us that we should pray for the “everyday bread”... There is no and will not be such a science under the sun, which was the best road to success and economic power than the Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ because there is no and will not be such a science, which is equally to the Gospel was introducing an equality and responsibility to oneself, meant the limits of pride, love to the neighbor or was capable to untie difficulties of the social life and guarantee freedom given personally to each individual and generally to every nation by God.²⁶⁶

Here he really understands that he cannot be accepted and loved by everyone, he had too many enemies and mere people who could not understand his position in life. He was certainly respected by each Greek-Catholic in Ukraine and among diaspora, and other

²⁶⁵ A letter of Metropolitan Sheptytsky to Pope Pius XII, *The Servant of God Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky: The Collection of Popular Articles and Other Archival Material*. [Слуга Божий Андрей Шептицький: Збірник популярно-наукових доповідей і статей та іншого архівного матеріалу], (Philadelphia, 1994) at pp. 167-169. [translated by me].

²⁶⁶ Z. Sukhanova, N. Sulima-Malashenko, A. Sheptytsky, *Realities of the Way of the Cross*, [Реалії хресного шляху], (Dzvin Publishing, 1990, #1) at p. 91.

denominations too, however, if he told them not to kill over the orders of the occupational regime, they would not all listen to his calling, even though many did listen. He was specifically underlining his political standing in the message cited above, particularly he was talking about his strong pro-Ukrainian position throughout his career and knew that many people could perceive this position as being chauvinistic. After all, he strongly believed in the power of a Gospel, Sheptytsky strongly insisted on the fact that it could be used in politics, and not only in sheer beliefs because we all live in the material world, full of evil and imperfection, thus, the Holy Scripture must be put against it in the real world of men. According to him, this is the best remedy against all the social and political wounds, and this belief was going throughout all his life and was imposed unto the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church itself. He wanted it to be the defensor not merely of the Christian faith, Church organization, but of the Ukrainian sovereignty, or so it seems. In 1942/43 it was obvious that the UGCC leadership is sending the alarm messages to the Vatican by telling about all the atrocities of the Nazi occupation.

By this time the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky had warned the pope that the German regime, perhaps to a higher degree than the Bolshevik one, was evil and diabolical, committing the most horrible crimes against the Jews and others, falling upon the helpless like a band of rabid wolves.²⁶⁷

No clear difference between the methods with which totalitarian regimes were achieving their goals [meaning Stalinism and Hitlerism] could be seen to people as Sheptytsky, and the fact that one system killed over the class and the other over the race, both appeared to be the same pair of boots, especially to many people, who could suffer from both. *Nevertheless, Sheptytsky was known to say that the Bolshevik regime is going to fall apart on its own later, sort of decay, and thus, it was less dangerous than the Nazi one.* Obviously, this idea, or even prediction, became true during the following fifty years, Communism proved to be not that solid within itself, and eventually fell under its own weight.

Bolshevism is a ruthless phenomenon, the rule of which is not going to last forever, it may be influenced by some changes in the future.²⁶⁸

For this particular reason he had noticed the diabolical nature of the Nazi regime, and even thought that it may be worse than the one organized by the Bolsheviks. However, there were many historians and publicists, who accused Sheptytsky and the UGCC of collaboration, at least they were saying that the Greek-Catholic Church was able to do more, hold the laity within 'moral limitation', organize more protests against the Nazi regime, etc.²⁶⁹ This position of the UGCC is extremely arguable, there are no signs of this, at least on the level of leadership, for example, Metropolitan was writing to the Vatican while saying that the regime is terrible, he reported on various atrocities that took place in the occupied land.

²⁶⁷ Frank J. Coppa, *Politics and the Papacy in the Modern World*, (ABC-CLIO, 2008) at p. 129.

²⁶⁸ Central State Historical Archive of the Supreme Government and Management of Ukraine, [Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України, (ЦДАВО України)], Ф. КМЕ-8, Register.1, Case. 77, p. 41. [Ф. КМЕ-8, Оп. 1, Спр. 77. арк. 41], [translated by me].

²⁶⁹ Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union*, (University of Nebraska Press, 2009) at p. 446.

The government had established the regime of terror and corruption, which day after day becomes worse, unbearable... There is no day in the year, so there is no ruthless crime taking place, murders, evil and robberies, confiscations, and violence. First victims are Jews, the number of Jews killed in our small land, by now is certainly higher than two hundred thousand. In the beginning the government was ashamed of such acts of human injustice, was trying to prove it with documents that the local population or militia is committing these killings. In a while they have begun killing Jews right on the streets before the eyes of local inhabitants without any shame. Of course, a big number of Christians, not only baptized Jews, but as they call "Aryans" also became victims of the unjustified murders. We all foresee that the system of terror will get stronger, will turn into violence on the larger scale against Ukrainian and Polish Christians.²⁷⁰

These words do not contain any signs of agreement with what was taking place in the occupied territories, it merely underlines his position on how the violence takes place, who is the first to become a victim, and that everything is turning to be much worse. There is no human being of any race or religion, who may be safe because ruthlessness and violence rule the day, this is the real position of the UGCC hierarchy, which sums up in an official position of Sheptytsky, when he reported his view to the Pontiff himself. The UGCC knew very well that during WWII the Vatican had contacts in Mussolini's government, and when Sheptytsky accused Fascism, he also mentioned this fact, according to him the founder of this ideology is now not in the worst relations with Curia.²⁷¹ This kind of criticism was literally dangerous because the only foreign and legal cover for UGCC was in the Vatican. The accusation came way back in 1935, a few years before the war, when not everything was clear, nevertheless, it was already understood by the UGCC leadership and Metropolitan was underlining it to be as not the most honest cooperation in the history of the Catholic Church. The same year, when he gave an interview to the Polish newspaper *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, he said that the Church should be very careful when it comes to nationalism [which became extremely strong in all of Europe], it must really distinguish everything when it comes to working with people, who represent that movement.²⁷²

XIII

Survival Methods

Surely, more words should be said about the actual survival methods, what the UGCC did to preserve itself and those, who were under the hit of terror. This is the way to show the right side of the Church during the war, and the Polish-Ukrainian conflict should be mentioned too. There were local priests, whose names are not very well known yet, but they have done a lot to preserve the Church's integrity and high moral values. Father Kotiv had organized the issuance of so-called "Aryan documents" that could be helpful in the survival of many Jews, who could acquire them. Supplying of clothes and food was also part of the activity, which was

²⁷⁰ A letter of Metropolitan Sheptytsky to Pope Pius XII, pp. 167-169.

²⁷¹ *Dilo*, [newspaper], [an article], (1935, May 5).

²⁷² *Ibid.*, *Dilo*.

organized by him. Children and women were taken care of by two prominent figures, abbess Josypha and sister Monika, they could use the Studite monastery network to accomplish these tasks. The direct saving of Jews was also done by priests, Ivanyuk, Titus, Pronyuk, Budzinovsky, Kovch, and many others whose names were not yet published by historians.²⁷³ Due to the fact that the UGCC became illegal and was totally forbidden after 1944 [its remnants became part of the Russian Orthodox Church], its history (including many records) were hidden or got destroyed, thus, it may be the mission of many future researchers to deal with the issue, get these names out and show to the general public. Many village priests were reporting about atrocities to the Church leadership and tried to get more attention to what was going on in their parish areas. One of such priests was Father Pavlo Oliynyk, his letter should be presented as evidence of worries that were spread among the lower clergy.

On fourteenth of October 1942 German police officer (name unknown) came on his personal car, from Lviv to Horosnytsya ('daughter' church of the Avgustyvka village). He walked into a house of Ivan Andrusyshyn and asked his seventy four years old wife, mother Teklya out, then he shot her with a revolver, and asked her son to immediately dig a hole in the yard, put her in there and cover with earth as a dog. When leaving he forbade anyone to take her out, and through the local *vijt* [head of the village., O.K.] also forbade me to bury her according to the Christian tradition, (the letter from *vijt* is attached). Nevertheless, I told the family of a killed woman that I do not recognize the warning and any minute can carry out the Christian funeral, if she gets unearthed and in a coffin will be taken to the church, and later to the cemetery. Terrorized sons and grandsons are afraid to do so, and thus, through the Metropolitan Ordinariate I ask for the intervention into this case because this act had caused a lot of misery in the village and its surroundings. Murdered Teklya Andrusyshyn was born in 1867 in a Jewish family, in 1890 she was baptized and since that year lived with Grynko Andrusyshyn. As a Christian for fifty-two years she was going to the Holy Confession a few times per year, and all her children were brought up as good Christians. Herself she was carrying out the true Christian life, in 1924 she received an Honor Certificate from the Metropolitan Ordinariate, and the whole area knows her as a woman of a very big heart, and great generosity for those in need. All of them found care and help from her. Therefore, everyone who knew her is crying.²⁷⁴

It's difficult to read this message without one's soul being torn out, and Father Oliynyk along with local inhabitants could not stay quiet, most likely they have never seen anything more terrible than the crime they were forced to live through. Basically, after this Sheptytsky began to escalate his methods of resistance, wrote a letter to Himmler, a pastoral letter "Thou Shalt Not Kill" and saved many Jews through the campaign of hiding them, particularly within the monastery network [Studites etc.]. These outrageous murders were taking place everywhere in the occupied territory, it was extremely difficult to observe something, that could not be stopped, and at the same time while trying to help, also making attempts to survive on one's own, when being under the similar threat of being arrested or killed. Technically this was a position of the UGCC, it was legal, it could function, and was not put against the law,

²⁷³ D. Kahane, *Diaries of the Lviv Ghetto*, (Dialogues, 1987) # 5-7, 7-8, 13-14. Memories of sister Maria.

²⁷⁴ Reminiscences of A. Girny, published by *Vysokyj Zamok*, September 12, 1997. A letter by Father Pavlo Oliynyk, written in Avgustyvka on 15. X. 1942. [translated by me].

however, soon after its head started writing the above mentioned messages, his personal position became less solid - mentioned above in the previous paragraphs.

XIV

Polish-Ukrainian Relations

Also, it may be very important to see what was going on with the Polish-Ukrainian relations, how did they develop during the war, could the old problems that had always existed between the two nations, merely disappear or get worse? Generally, the conflict and occupation did in one way or another was getting both groups into the same boat, none of them had political rights, both were considered to be of a lower race, no independence or autonomy neither for Poles nor Ukrainians of any region. Both were deported to hard labor in Germany, often just taken without any warning, right from the streets. Eventually, there was an order by the Galician [district] Gendarmerie #2429/42, which stated that there are not enough workers, and people could be stopped and taken on the streets during the daylight period, it could happen to Poles and Ukrainians, regardless of their ethnicity. For example, from the town of Yavoriv, 2500 people were deported in 1942, from Horodok 2569, and totally from the Lviv region alone 160 thousand.²⁷⁵ Truthfully, the Nazi occupation authorities saw locals as the labor force, and nothing more, there was no actual understanding of when it's going to end, and Slavic people had to unite, at least during this period of time, however, sadly Poles and Ukrainians continued to argue and fight each other, even in the face of a common enemy. Old problems were surfacing even further, and it seems that authorities were interested in such a situation. *Poland was infested with the concentration camps, its people were murdered and seen as subhumans.* Ukrainians were in the same position.

Although debate about the treatment of Soviet minority nationalities continued to swirl throughout the Nazi hierarchy, the matter was effectively settled by the appointment of the vicious Erich Koch to rule over Ukraine. Lacking any human virtue other than a brutal frankness, Koch announced: 'The attitude of the Germans in the [Ukraine] must be governed by the fact that we deal with a people which is inferior in every respect ... We have not liberated it to bring blessings on the Ukraine but to secure for Germany the necessary living space and a source of food'.²⁷⁶

It was a terrible war within a war, something that both nations did not forget until this day, while keeping some degree of mutual not understanding. Nevertheless, it was a lesson, which could show that instead of fighting each other, Ukrainians and Poles must unite their forces against the larger threat, at that time it was not known, or at least common sense could not settle these issues in a peaceful manner. Klymentiy Sheptytsky was able to count and

²⁷⁵ Central State Historical Archive of the Supreme Government and Management of Ukraine, [Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України, (ЦДАВО України)], F. 4620, Register. 3, Case. 309, pp. 15-29. [Ф. 4620, Оп. 3, Спр. 309. арк. 15-29].

²⁷⁶ Steven Merritt Miner, *Stalin's Holy War: Religion, Nationalism, and Alliance Politics, 1941-1945*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2003) at p. 54.

classify up to seven military formations that existed in the Ukraine's West, it gives a wider picture of what was taken place between the Polish and Ukrainian communities, what was in the center of this fight, and specifically what was the role of other non-local factors. Klymentiy came up with his formulations [September, 1943] when one of the German bureaucrats [district of Galicia] was interrogating his brother, and Klymentiy was presented there, he simply could witness it all because the interrogation process was 'soft', Andrei Sheptytsky was not arrested.

1. Former Polish soldiers, since 1939, who ran into the woods and mountains, 2. Former Soviet soldiers after they were defeated in 1941, 3. Former Romanian military units, which have deserted and put themselves outside of the law, 4. Groups of Ukrainian nationalists [OUN], equally hostile to Germany, Poland, and Russia, 5. Jews, who were able to run away and hide from the massive prosecutions, 6. Real outlaws, murderers, thieves, and others from the criminal code list, 7. 'Red partisans' who are well armed and organized from the Russian/Ukrainian border to Carpathians. According to the German documents, this information is objective, also it was true that the only real threat to the occupying authorities consisted of the last seventh group, and it was commanded by some Soviet general.²⁷⁷ The UGCC was aware of what was going on in the territories that were part of its strongest influence, there was no actual question about the fact that the country of Ukraine was being ripped apart by the whole variety of interests, everyone was literally fighting everyone else. The Greek-Catholic Church was probably influential enough to stop it from happening because it had the means to do so, its leadership tried to contact the Roman-Catholic authorities to somehow prevent the Polish-Ukrainian bloodshed. Also, at the very same time, Ukrainians were killing Ukrainians.

In a move that revealed their zealotry, the members of the new organization eliminated their rivals in Volhynia, (OUN-M and another partisan formation led by Taras Bulba-Borovets). In the process, they killed tens of thousands of Ukrainians that were thought to support rival nationalist factions (Snyder, 2003, 164). As a second move, in April 1943, the leaders of the UPA, now virtually unrivalled as leaders of the Ukrainian population in Poland, decided to eliminate the Polish population of Volhynia and E. Galicia. As a result of the UPA campaign, about 40,000-60,000 Poles in Volhynia and 25,000 in E. Galicia were killed between 1943 and 1944.²⁷⁸

Even in the scary 1943 when the Polish-Ukrainian conflict was getting worse, it turned into the actual ethnic cleansing, in the reality of an acting German occupation, and close to another Soviet occupation, Metropolitan Sheptytsky [as it was saying in one of the German reports] had contacted the Polish bishops. It was agreed that in one of the upcoming Sundays, in every church [of both rituals] the proclamation of peace between Poles and Ukrainians will be read out, but the bloodshed continued anyway.²⁷⁹ After Germans came to the Eastern Galicia

²⁷⁷ Central State Historical Archive of the Supreme Government and Management of Ukraine, [Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України, (ЦДАВО України)], КМФ. 8, Register. 1, Case. 77, pp. 36-37. [КМФ. 8, Оп. 1, Спр. 77. арк. 36-37].

²⁷⁸ H. Zeynep Bulutgil, *The Roots of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe*, (Cambridge University Press, 2016) at p. 106.

²⁷⁹ Central State Historical Archive of the Supreme Government and Management of Ukraine, [Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України, (ЦДАВО України)], F. КМФ 8, Оп.1, Case. 77, pp. 36-43. [Ф. КМФ. 8, Оп. 1, Спр. 77. арк. 36-43].

[once against it should be reminded that this particular region was mostly Greek-Catholic, therefore, it's been mentioned more than any other in Ukraine] some of those Polish people, who were arrested by the Soviets, came out free. In Peremyshlyany a group (or even delegation) of Poles had visited Father Emilian Kovch [already mentioned before], they were really thankful to him and his local leadership for keeping their property, when they were imprisoned, it was the true act of human dignity, and an example to others how to act, the delegation said to him.²⁸⁰

The war was killing more people, violence, hatred, and injustice seemed to rule the way. One occupation was stepping over another, two inhumane regimes fought each other, and their fight dragged others with it. Nevertheless, many people tried to resist this sort of disorder, a lot of them came from the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, the area of this study, however, numerous heroes existed in other religious and non-religious organizations. Soon the future Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj would be the head of the UGCC, and in 1944 he tried to keep the German military from establishing its artillery on the St. Jura Hill, otherwise, nothing would be left from the Cathedral.²⁸¹ He would keep his mission and may preserve more than just this residential and holy place for the Greek-Catholic Church, he would preserve the Church itself, and the following chapter shall begin to concentrate on his personality. Life could not be stopped, many faithful followers wanted to continue their religious practices, live, and pray in the way their forefathers have told them. It may be particularly good to end this chapter with the following words written by Andrei Sheptytsky to the Regional Zionist organization of Galicia in Lviv.

I have always been on the side of the rebirth of the Jewish nation. Zionism is the real idea built upon the highest human ethics. Thanks to Zionism, the Jewishness came closer to us. My sympathy is on your side, and with pleasure I constitute the development of Zionism.²⁸²

Josyf Slipyj: Before Enthronization as Metropolitan

It explains his early life and the beginning of his career. It helps to understand his future unbending character that played a big role in the future of the UGCC.

I

Early Years

In the previous chapters a few words were already said about Josyf Slipyj, his memoirs so far were mentioned, and certainly gave a lot of information. He is widely considered to be

²⁸⁰Kovch-Baran, *For the God's Truths and Human Rights. A Collection for the Praisal of Father Emilian Kovch*, [За Божі правди і людські права. Збірник на пошану о. Еміліана Ковча], (Saskatoon, 1994) p. 138. See Memoirs of M. Wilczynska.

²⁸¹ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 146.

²⁸² Central State Historical Archive of Lviv, [Центральний Державний Історичний Архів Львова], F. 358, Оп. 1, Case. 57, pp. 176-178. [Ф. 358, Оп. 1, Спр. 57, арк. 176-178].

the second greatest personality in the history of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, to many he is the strongest protector of it after the passing of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. Truthfully, without his presence, it may be difficult to imagine the UGCC surviving after 1944. When the second Soviet occupation came in, Andrei Sheptytsky was about to die very soon, and there would be nobody to really preserve the system that was created by the previous Metropolitan. Someone who was strong enough to complete the mission, even if the follower were about to face deportations, arrests, interrogations, or even death, and it seems that Sheptytsky knew that Josyf Slipyj was the right person for the task. However, this chapter will first concentrate on his life before the enthronization as the Metropolitan, it may try to explore and investigate Slipyj before 1944. The major question is to understand what kind of a man he was, what made his cultural standing, the world view, inner strengths, and of course, educational background, which should be very important to know because he was someone, who had the encyclopedic levels of knowledge [and not merely in theology]. There are many books written by a variety of authors, among them is Ivan Choma, who had published a few of them in Italian and Ukrainian based on Slipyj's memoirs – the major source of his early biographical information.²⁸³ Choma was one of his aides for many years, and was able to collect something valuable, particularly he helped to publish the first part of the memoirs where Slipyj mentioned the birthplace – *Zazdrist'* village, in there any researcher may find the best sources of original family tree of the Metropolitan, his mix Polish-Ukrainian background etc.²⁸⁴ Memoirs that were already used in the previous chapters is the latest version of them published by the joint effort of the Ukrainian Catholic University, Institute of St. Clement the Pope, and Institute of Ecumenical Studies in 2014. Still, it is going to be the most important book of this chapter, it may be seen as the first-hand information resource, edited and adopted by the work of dozens of people, respected academicians, and scholars. Archival materials [including those from the Soviet security services] will also be implemented.

He was born as Josyf Kobernytsky-Dychkovsky on February 17, 1892 in the above-mentioned village of *Zazdrist'*, Terebovlyansky *povit* (county or Kreis) of the Ternopil' (Tarnopol) region. This is certain that his background goes back to the typical village-based middle class of the Polish-Ukrainian ancestry of Galicia, where some belonged to Latin and others to the Eastern Rites.²⁸⁵ For example, his grand-grandfather on the mother's line, Wiszniowiezki-Janusiewicz was married to a Greek-Catholic woman, however, refused to go into her church, and eventually brought all of their daughters to the Latin Catholic tradition.²⁸⁶ Something that could be absolutely normal in those days in Galicia, as it was mentioned before, the region was controlled by the Polish elites for centuries, the city of Lviv [Lemberg] even after it became under the Austrian control during the late eighteenth century, was still populated by the large number of Poles (all of them being Roman-Catholic). Slipyj's family was certainly

²⁸³ See Giovanni Choma, *Josyf Slipyj. Padre e confessor della Chiesa Ucraina martire*, (Citta di Castello, 1990). Ivan Choma, *Josyf Slipyj. "Vinctus Christi" et defensor unitas*, (Roma, 1997). Ivan Choma, *Josyf Slipyj*, (Milano, 2001).

²⁸⁴ Reminiscences of Patriarch Josyf about his village of *Zazdrist'*. *Spiritual Heritage of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj and Contemporary Problems of Development of the Ukrainian Science and Culture*, edited by A. Rudnytsky, (Lviv, 2000) pp. 53-73.

²⁸⁵ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, ed. by Ivan Datsko, Maria Goryacha, (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv-Rome, 2014) at p. 69.

²⁸⁶ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 69.

under such influence, and because his grand grandfather [according to his double name, typical of the Polish ancestry of a noble descent] wanted to preserve, particularly his culture. The fact that he came from a rich village family is also supported in one of the researched documents produced by the Army tribunal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [formerly NKVD] on June 3, 1946, when he was accused of the anti-Soviet activity for the first time.²⁸⁷ Education was very important to his family, particularly when it came to languages. It should be important to understand once again that Galicia was populated by a variety of ethnic groups at the end of the eighteenth hundreds; Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, and Germans (possibly only Bukovyna was a more diverse region in the Austria-Hungary).²⁸⁸ Therefore, after picking up Ukrainian as his native language, Polish and specifically German came next, Josyf's brother Mykola was possessing the first textbooks that allowed the knowledge of German to get introduced during the third year of school.

On the second year I began to learn Polish, and on the third German, but at home because mother could speak some German, and brother Mykola had a German alphabet and books, and at the beginning they somewhat helped me. I know that after an alphabet, words had begun: "Ich bin jung, du bist klein...", etc. Father, and certainly brother Mykola have suggested to bring me to the German colonists at the Konoplivka (actually, Konopkivka) between Ladychyn and Mykulynci, so I could learn German language by speaking it.²⁸⁹

These reminiscences show the diversity of that region, and some necessity of contacts, which took place between the variety of ethnic groups. When describing the emergence of his last name *Slipyj*, which was not the name he had directly received from his father Ivan Kobernytsky, but belonged to somewhat of an inherited 'nickname' that was used by Ivan [and his relatives, ancestors] as the second last name, and therefore was given to Josyf.²⁹⁰ According to his own memories, he became familiar with religion during the early years in school and later in *gymnasium* [Tarnopol] because he meticulously describes his early visits to the local churches, priests, catechization, and his relatives, who were studying theology. For example, Father Timotey Vasylevych (Slipyj) was a son of his uncle Vasyly Slipyj and an aunt Franziska Dychkovska.²⁹¹ Also, he recalls Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky as someone who was really taking care of the region where Josyf was born, something that was mentioned in the previous chapters. Sheptytsky was acting not merely as the head of the Greek-Catholic Church, but as a charity figure, who wanted to raise the level of education and culture.

Metropolitan was paying attention to the life in the village and listened to the locals from there with various parish and people's issues. During Metropolitan's departures a lot of processions

²⁸⁷ Verdict by the Army tribunal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [Ukrainian district] in the case of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and hierarchs of the UGCC, June 3, 1946. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-FP.-Vol.7.-pp. 246-256. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 68069.-Т.7.-Арк. 246-256.]*

²⁸⁸ Aviel Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires: Central Europe, the Middle East and Russia, 1914-1924*, (Routledge, 2002) at p. 12.

²⁸⁹ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 75. [translated by me].

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

with flags were represented, and he if I am not mistaken, came back from Zazdrist' to Strusov, and later through Dahiv went to Zarvanyci.²⁹²

These clear descriptions first of all once more prove that Sheptytsky was traveling around the region while resolving numerous social issues, and second this activity to some extent raised Josyf Slipyj to what he became later in life. Here is an interrogation protocol made on July 1, 1958, where Josyf Slipyj is answering a question about his biography.

Question: Tell about your biography? Answer: I was born in 1892 in the village of Zazdrist' of the Terebovlya uезд [district., O.K.], now region in the Ternopil' oblast [state or land., O.K.]. My father Slipyj Ivan Semyonovich and my mother Dichkovs'ka Anastasija Romanivna were peasants and had nearly five hectares of land, cows, horses, had at least one regular worker and a few seasonal workers [...]. I began to study in the village school, later continued in a town of Veshnychyky in the Ternopil' city gymnasium, which I have graduated in 1910... Thus, after graduating from gymnasium I have entered the Lviv University [Lemberg., O.K.] to the Faculty of Theology. My studies went well, and this draw an attention from a former Metropolitan of the Greek-Catholic Church, count Andrei Sheptytsky.²⁹³

He was watching an authority of the Metropolitan, respect that was shown to him by his neighbors, and most likely started to see the Church as the true moral orientation in the world. Moreover, his relatives were involved in religion, Father Ivan was honestly respecting the figure of their supreme hierarch and was always giving a lot of respect to Sheptytsky during the latter's visitations. That is how he recalls him in his memories, and it certainly made an influence on the future life.

When Father Platon Karpinsky oversaw a parish, then came a visitation of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky in July. Inside the community there were serious preparations. A father was responsible to take care of the triumph arch, fixing of roads, insignias, and other preparations. Arrival of the Metropolitan to Strusov caused the great impression upon everyone, particularly his high stature was seen above all.²⁹⁴

On that day young Josyf was able to personally meet and talk with Sheptytsky when the latter was asking questions about the catechism. Religion came during the early school years, the strongest authority [and not only religious, but probably political too] of the area was in charge of it, these premature impressions can change many people's lives, so it certainly happened to Slipyj. The Greek-Catholic faith wishes to study theology became seriously important to him, he was answering theological questions directly to Metropolitan, and not merely to a local priest. Moreover, his vision of the world was always connected to a lot of emotions, truthful acceptance of reality, which is psychologically predisposing religious perception.

²⁹² Ibid., p. 78 [translated by me].

²⁹³ Interrogation protocol of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, July 1, 1958. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine F.6.-Case. 67829-fp.-Vol.4.-pp. 16-21.* [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр.67829-фп.-Т.4.-Арк. 16-21]. [translated by me].

²⁹⁴ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 77. [translated by me].

During the winter, brothers read some books. I well remember when brother Volodymyr was reading about the life of Socrates, and I was crying when hearing about his death. A condolence for patients was bothering me to tears.²⁹⁵

His character was raised in the close presence of religion, and the powerful feeling toward those in need could touch him to the deepest, even if these were only some stories about people he did not know in person.

II

Education and Entry into the Church

This factor behind Josyf's emotional character is particularly important to understand, especially when he began to turn closer to theology and really decided to become a priest. Another episode in his early life could push him in the direction of asking questions about life and death. One of his neighbors, also a boy with whom they were friends had suddenly died, most likely from a heart attack during the sleep. This episode made young Josyf think about life and death, and the possibility of ending up one's life in the same tragic and sudden manner.²⁹⁶ Perhaps all of these reminiscences ended up in his memoirs due to the great importance of these events, it truly had to form his worldview. During these years [from six to ten years of age] Josyf Slipyj began to get involved in the life of his peers, neighbors, and the most important, started to form his moral structure. When a distinguished psychologist Erik Erikson wrote about the early life of Martin Luther he mentioned the following aspects that fit into the given context.

At about the seventh year, says Aristotle, man can differentiate between good and bad. Conscience, ego, and cognition, we would say, are by then sufficiently developed to make it probable that a child, given half a chance, will be able and eager to concentrate on tasks transcending play. He will watch and join others in the techniques of his society and develop an eagerness for completing tasks fitted for his own age in some craftsman like way. All this, and not less, is implied when we say that a child has reached the "stage of industry".²⁹⁷

Basically, this 'stage' is the cornerstone of what laid the ground for the future personality of Josyf Slipyj, religion shall become his life, the Greek-Catholic Church will make him the man everyone knows today, and upon this organization, he will accomplish everything he considered to be the opposite of evil. Clear descriptions of moral questions that began to visit his mind when he watched the social structure, was able to know various respected people of the age and area where he lived, first losses, all may give answers when it comes to telling about his future life.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 81. [translated by me].

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 83.

²⁹⁷ Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History*, (W.W. Norton & Company, Inc, 1962) at p. 77.

In 1903 he had finished the fourth grade of the Austrian type [system] school and was brought by his father to Ternopil' [Tarnopol] *gymnasium* that was open merely for Ukrainians or at that time in Austrian Galicia better known as Ruthenians. It gave him a much wider knowledge including languages such as Greek [ancient] and French, theology was getting more around him under the influence of such priests (and teachers) as Father Borodajkevych and Father Durbak, both belonged to the conservative camp in the Greek-Catholic Church. Strong religiousness embedded by his parents, and priests, who were nearby in the gymnasium kept him from going astray, into the world of youth where chastity was not always obeyed. At the same time, Slipyj noticed that the school was not religious.

I did not like liberal spirit in the school due to an atheistic agitation, and Father Patrylo cared only about himself.²⁹⁸

In other words, Josyf Slipyj was a character in himself, he was interested not in the mainstream of that time, definitely was closer to those teachers, who were conservative Christians. Therefore, in 1911 he had graduated and received *matura*, or something what is now called the high school diploma. Right after this event, young Josyf Slipyj had decided to become a priest, and particularly, without the right to marry, he chose the most conservative side of the Greek-Catholic tradition, which was not allowing priests to have families. He was really determined despite the fact that not everyone in his family was too happy in regards to this choice.²⁹⁹ The same year he entered the seminary and University in Lviv [then Lemberg], it was the moment when he had seen Metropolitan Sheptytsky again during the entry exams. Once again the head of the Greek-Catholic Church had a strong spiritual impression on him, and there are certain beliefs, even though not supported by any documented materials, that during that time the Metropolitan decided to make him his closest follower, and particularly then the future faith of Josyf Slipyj as the next Metropolitan was decided. Well, of course, these are rumors [and cannot be used for a fact], but Slipyj was already quite knowledgeable in theology and possessed a quick mind, it could not go unnoticed by such a prominent figure as Sheptytsky. Further studies in both institutions were certainly extremely difficult, especially the seminary, certainly someone who decided to enter was supposed to be truly ready for the task. The university was opening doors to other faculties, particularly the *faculty of philosophy*, which was not necessarily dealing with theology and was not built only for religious people as Slipyj; he was having friends such as Stephan Baley, who was getting prepared for becoming a professor, however, the latter was an atheist. Slipyj thought that maybe this was the reason why he was not so much into studying theology [philosophical faculty took a lot of time].³⁰⁰ At the same time, he was involved in the process of the creation of the Ukrainian University [Ruthenian], which did not exist at that time. It particularly meant the use of the Ukrainian language as an official one for the given institution. He met some political and social leaders of Galicia, who stood for the political cause [Ruthenian autonomy], for example, one of them was Kost' Levytsky, a person who was mentioned during the second chapter, and whose

²⁹⁸ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 97. [translated by me].

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106.

³⁰⁰ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 109.

political career would grow after 1917.³⁰¹ He is often considered to be one of the first presidents in western Ukraine [Western Ukrainian Republic].³⁰² All of the famous people mentioned in this work were at some point meeting and developed some opinion about each other [Ukraine's West]. The following period will include his studies in Innsbruck and Rome, the most important moment in terms of his career and in Slipyj's life because soon after, he would become a leader of the educational system within the Greek-Catholic Church. Technically his rising through the stairs of the hierarchy was moderately quick, some believe that it was due to Metropolitan's assistance, others that it was done merely through his personal talents. In both cases, he was a man with many abilities that were needed by someone like Sheptytsky, who tried to build the Church stronger, therefore, the latter took him under his wing.³⁰³ Certainly, Slipyj's spiritual strength and a strong character were noticed by the Metropolitan, who himself was of similar type, if speaking from the psychological point of view. He studied in Collegium Canisianum (Innsbruck) alongside ten more Ukrainian students, previously Andrei Sheptytsky went there, and later the place will be occupied by his successor in the UGCC – Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky.³⁰⁴ Between 1912 and 1917 a lot of historical and personal events took place in the life of Josyf Slipyj, he defended his Ph.D. Thesis, wrote a lot of theological and philosophical works, came to visit his family in Galicia, which was shattered by the frontlines [two of his brothers and a sister died, parents lost their household].³⁰⁵

III

World War I – Life until 1939

It does not seem that he was too supportive of any side during that terrible war, however, it seems that he felt that Austria-Hungary (especially after his studies in Innsbruck) was way closer. He blamed the Russian troops for burning his parent's husbandry, both of his brothers, who lost their lives, and fought for the Viennese side [this event could also shape many future principles].³⁰⁶ Moreover, the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was arrested and exiled by the Russian military, it could not turn Slipyj closer to the Russophile position, which was popular before 1914 in Galicia. It seems that the notion of the latter political and cultural movement began to fade out after the Russian occupation of Galicia in 1914-1915. Locals began to see the real attitude of the empire, they saw it as the Slavic friend, or at least in some way were sympathising it. All of this began to disappear after the World War II.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 110.

³⁰² Kost' Levytsky was an influential political veteran of Galicia at the end of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Studied law in Lviv [Lemberg] and Vienna Universities, in 1884 received PhD and in 1890 began practicing law in Lviv. He was one of the founder of the People's Council and the Ukrainian National Democratic Party, deputy of the Austrian parliament [chamber of ambassadors], and Galician Sejm. In 1918 he was the head of the State Secretariat of the Western Ukrainian Republic. During the Interwar period wrote on history, edited. In 1939 was arrested by the Soviet authorities and brought to Moscow, later freed in 1941. Died in on November 2, 1941. See, I. Andrukhiv, *Kost' Levytsky: Pages of Life*. (Ivano-Frankivs'k, 1995).

³⁰³ Orysa Chomyak, *Slipyj Saw the Church Being Free*, [Сліпий Бачив Церкву Вільною], (*Vysokuj Zamok*, Lviv, #8, 5264, 23-25 January, 2015) at p. 7.

³⁰⁴ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 260.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 111-112.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 112.

As a result of the Russian occupation of Galicia and Bukovina in 1914, Vienna became home to around 70,000 Jewish refugees. In Galicia, the newly installed military governor Count Georgii Bobrinskii, a devoted Russophile, decided to ‘cleanse’ his fiefdom prior to integrating it fully with the Tsarist empire. Local notables were arrested and deported to Siberia. Russian military commanders deported local notables and many of the remaining Galician Jews to the Russian interior, citing the need to ‘protect’ the non-Jewish population from the consequences of ‘collaboration’. In these circumstances’ Ukrainian activists, who enjoyed the comparatively tolerant rule of the Habsburgs before the war, wisely decided to flee to Vienna lest they feel the wrath of the new Russian administration. Jewish inhabitants of Galicia and Bukovina, fearful of the reputation of the Russian army, also fled to the relative safety of the Austrian capital.³⁰⁷

These descriptions match the memories of Josyf Slipyj, who was coming back from Innsbruck in 1915 and was helping to move his family together with the frontline when Austrian troops recaptured Lviv, his Collegium friend Ksaveryj Mostovych was alongside with him during these mid-war experiences.³⁰⁸ After the war, Slipyj was visiting Italy and studied in Rome’s Gregorianum and Angelicum Universities, at that time he received *magister aggregatus* degree and continued to study art and the culture of Rome. Particularly then he was meeting with Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, who was able to free himself from the Siberian exile and visit the Vatican. Everything that is written in Slipyj’s diaries brings many clear descriptions of what took place in Galician-Ukrainian politics, the decline of Ukrainian failed statehood [1921], diplomatic activities of the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan, and the first hints about his future – heading of the Lviv Theological Seminary.³⁰⁹ At this new position he continued what Sheptytsky started many years prior to that, he was sending the best students abroad, wanted to make the Seminary as independent as possible with the rights of giving doctorates, it was very important to the leaders of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.³¹⁰ Eventually, it was another period when this Church was particularly the only truly legal institution with many connections abroad that represented Ukraine [well, at least where the UGCC was influential, particularly in Galicia and its influence outside of it]. Starting with Andrei Sheptytsky, every other head of this Church was somewhat as the ambassador could be, someone who was able to lead the people without the land or political entity.³¹¹ Nowadays of course it’s not the case, but still, it may be seen in one way or another as if both of these Metropolitans had nearly political representation abroad. Slipyj was heading the Seminary, his main position before he was finally chosen by the acting Metropolitan to succeed him in 1939, even though before the latter’s death in 1944 Slipyj was not ruling the UGCC.³¹² Issues that made him the Metropolitan, someone who will be as powerful as Sheptytsky were incorporated in the man himself, Metropolitan Andrei knew it, saw the real potential in him. Plus, they had

³⁰⁷ Matthew Stibbe, *Captivity, Forced Labour and Forced Migration in Europe and During the First World War*, an article by Peter Gatrell, *Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War*, (Routledge, 2013) at p. 84.

³⁰⁸ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 111.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-133.

³¹¹ See Vasyl’ Mudryj, *Lviv: A Symposium on its 700th Anniversary*, (Michigan University, 1962).

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

a chance to communicate when Sheptytsky was accomplishing his diplomatic mission outside of Ukraine, he probably understood that Josyf Slipyj could do the same, and he will do it many years later. In 1939 Andrei Sheptytsky had asked Pope Pius XII to make Josyf Slipyj his official successor according to every letter of the law of the Catholic Church. Soon, on November 25, 1939, the Pope had justified this asking and wrote a letter to the clergy and all believers of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church where he gave the right to Josyf Slipyj to succeed Andrei Sheptytsky. Even one of the documents possessed by the NKVD in 1939 was including the whole pastoral letter, signifying how serious it all was to them too, and particularly the importance of the future figure of Josyf Slipyj whom they would never break up.³¹³

Council of 1946

This chapter is the marking point in UGCC history. Officially this Church was completely removed from the inside, setting the precedent to prosecute anyone, who could have claimed to be Greek-Catholic. It explains the treason on one hand and the misunderstanding of what to do under political pressure on the other. To some, it was reunion with the Orthodoxy, and to many, it was the method of prosecution.

I

Preparations for the Council. Divisions Among the Clergy

In the previous chapters, it was shown how the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church lived and survived throughout time, particularly from 1596 until the mid-nineteen forties, when the Soviet army began to advance onto the territories, where this organization had its strongest historical roots. This chapter will show the history, theology, and reality of the Lviv Greek-Catholic Council of 1946, or if widening the topic, everything that happened after 1944 and the death of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky to the official liquidation of the UGCC in the Soviet Union. The moment, which is often seen as the most difficult one in the history of this Church, it was really destroyed as the legal institution [merely in the USSR], put under tough repressions, and eventually blended with the Russian Orthodox Church. The latter was taken from an underground by Stalin in 1943 and used as the political tool, or as another ideological ‘cement’ for his newly established imperial system based on patriotism and non-acceptance of any foreign ideology.³¹⁴ For the UGCC there was absolutely no place in this political envision, and it was seen as the Orthodox Church, but loyal to the extraterritorial authority in Rome, plus with many connections to the capitalist world, North America and the West itself, simply

³¹³ A pastoral letter of Pope Pius XII to the clergy and believers of the Lviv Archeparchy in regards to the giving the right of succession of the UGCC Metropolitan’s seat to Josyf Slipyj. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.2.-Op. 10 (1950).- Case. 1.- pp. 65, 66. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.2.- Оп.10 (1950).- Сп. 1.- Арк. 65, 66.]*

³¹⁴ Daniel H. Shubin, *A History of Russian Christianity, Vol. IV: Tsar Nicholas II to Gorbachev’s Edict on the Freedom of Conscience*, (Algora Publishing, 2006) at pp. 152-153.

saying the Greek-Catholic agenda was supposed to be blended with the ROC, and those who disagreed had to be prosecuted. Something that was not completed during the first period of occupation [or a takeover], was taken to another level.

Was the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church prepared, could it get ready and possibly prevent such a move? One document from the Soviet secret police [NKVD-NKGB] shows that it was trying to stay diplomatic with the Communist system, here are some extracts from the report [December 1944].

On the 19th of December, the Greek-Catholic clergy consisting of archimandrite Klimentiy Sheptytsky, professor Gavriil Kostelnyk, advisor Ivan Kotiv and ihumen Budzinsky departed to Moscow on a train #6 using the international car. Delegation is carrying two welcoming letters to comrade Stalin from the past Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and his successor Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, and additional one hundred thousand rubles for the defense foundation. Delegation is planning to solve questions regarding the retaining of hospital chapels, about printing house, theological academy and the seminary.³¹⁵

Right after the Soviet army came back to Galicia and the rest of Soviet Ukraine, the Greek-Catholic Church began to contemplate on how to proceed, it was obvious that the comeback will not tolerate this organization, there was previously learned experience about everything that the Soviet system is capable of, thus, the Church attempted some moves regarding its survival. Some may believe that something as the welcoming letter to Stalin or anything of that sort was not the very honest method in saving the Church, however, it seems to be not as disgraceful, especially if looking more carefully into the matter. First, the Greek-Catholic hierarchs did not plan any bending before the government, it can be drawn from the reaction of the Soviet authorities [and the latter's understanding of the situation]. Another document found in the Security Service archives witnesses many aspects of the above-mentioned delegation, spreads the light upon this issue, and clearly portrays the real position of the Church and what the Soviet government was thinking about it. It was reported by one of the NKVD agents at the beginning of 1945.

My conversation with Metropolitan on December 29 was touching the main reason for the Uniate delegation's visit to Moscow – acceptance of the delegation by comrade Stalin. In regard to this Metropolitan Josyf told me: "... Me and archimandrite Sheptytsky really hope that comrade Stalin will accept the delegation. Delegation should personally handle the latter to comrade Stalin written by the deceased Metropolitan Andrei and my letter, also personally listen to his answer to questions that worry the Greek-Catholic Church...". Our talk involved the civil war in western Ukraine, and abilities of the Uniate Church to influence it, meaning to quickly stop it. Further on Metropolitan proclaimed the "original" and now anti-Soviet thought that the main role in the organization of the terrorist and sabotage acts in Galicia is carried out by the Red Army deserters.³¹⁶

³¹⁵ An extract from the telegram send by the Ukrainian Central NKGB to the NKVD USSR about the visiting delegation from the UGCC to Moscow. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.19.-p. 302. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.19.-Арк. 302.], [translated by me].*

³¹⁶ From the operative report of the Second Division of the Security Department of NKGB for the Lviv region regarding the Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, January 1, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-*

From this material it comes out that on one hand the UGCC leadership was trying to make some kind of deal with the government, somehow show Stalin their ability to co-exist with the system, unless it did not touch the Church's structure. However, on the other side, it did not hide its position on what was taking place in the Ukraine's West after 1944, the Greek-Catholic Church did not really act as a collaborator in any shape or form, Josyf Slipyj wanted to keep his role as the defender of Ukraine without Communist ideology – due to the core difference between them. The conflict which took place in western Ukraine after 1944 was driven by the militarized movement led by various OUN factions that fought against the Soviet authority, it seems that spiritually the Metropolitan was in some way standing on its side, but at the same time tried to stay out of politics, all his effort was to mediate between the Church and state.

Metropolitan's saying was interesting about the fact that "the civil war is primarily involving youth, and the Church does not have any influence upon youth...". By such means, metropolitan was trying to transfer the guilt from Galicians unto the Red Army deserters and acquit the Church's inaction through its lack of influence upon the Galician youth. He explained the Church's inactivity by saying: "...The Church now, under Bolsheviks is not possessing the press agency and deals with particular difficulties while publishing its proclamations etc., appeals to population...."³¹⁷

This report shows that even in the eyes of NKGB-NKVD Josyf Slipyj was a good diplomat, a person who was handling the situation without going openly against the system, but at the same time trying to show his position, and if necessary tell about the real situation of the Church. In reality, it did not have a press agency, and this reality was hard to argue with, otherwise the authority had to admit that it was their fault that the UGCC could not influence the youth of Galicia [or any other region in Ukraine]. Different representatives of the clergy were acting often without any consensus though, many reports point at the fact that it was seriously divided, and later laid the ground for the Council of 1946, which officially de-legalized and annulled the Brest-Litovsk Agreement of 1596, thus, liquidating the Greek-Catholic Church itself.

St. Jura Cathedral priest, GORCHINSKY Nikolai, born in 1873, during a discussion with [...] about the delegation's trip to Moscow had sounded a wish to switch for the Orthodox Church, he said: "...We thought that here the Catholic Church will shine throughout all of Ukraine, but unexpectedly for us, the Orthodox Church shined in 117avour. We thought that I deception, but it turned out to be true. The Church in Russia is developing in its real greatness. Bukovyna possessed the Orthodox Church, Transcarpathian Ukraine also possesses the Orthodox Church, only us in Galicia were left alone."³¹⁸

F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-pp. 90-92. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сnp. С-9113.-Т.16.-Арк. 90-92.], [translated by me].

³¹⁷ Ibid., *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-pp. 90-92.*

³¹⁸ From the special report by the head of the NKGB Department for the Lviv region O. Voronin to the People's Commissar of the State Security of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic S. Savchenko about the reaction among clergy and laity regarding the UGCC delegation to Moscow, January 29, 1945. *State Archive of the*

At the same time this report noted that Father Gorchinsky cannot be fully trusted because his intentions could be too radical, and sudden wishes to unite with the Orthodoxy [controlled by the Soviet government] might be part of a deception process specifically designed by the higher UGCC clergy. Nevertheless, in the future it did happen that many hierarchs of the Greek-Catholic Church, who participated at the Council decided to liquidate their own Church by uniting it with the ROC, so even though the secret police and the Communist Party had a problem trusting the above-cited plans, they still could be true. Technically it was part of the main plan, to divide and rule, so to speak, and put the Metropolitan outside of the legal field within the UGCC. In other words, someone had to cooperate with the Soviet government. It had a powerful political pretext to Stalin and was supposed to be resolved as soon as possible.

With the defeat of Germany and increasing tension between the USSR and W., anti-religious propaganda was resumed. The Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union (as in other countries of E. Europe) retained a limited degree of freedom, but it was required to support the Government position. At home, Church leaders justified the suppression of the Ukrainian Eastern-rite Catholic (Uniat) Churches in 1946 and the incorporation of the remnants into the Russian Orthodox Church.³¹⁹

It must be said with a lot of certainty that many could blame the ROC for such a position, however, it should not be forgotten that in fact there was no independent Orthodox Church body in the USSR at that time. It was completely destroyed after the Bolshevik revolution, itself the ROC was experiencing the unparalleled suppression, so by 1943, when Stalin decided to use it in politics, it could not voice its own position or an outwardly standing based on clear principles. At the same time, and this is also true, the Russian Orthodoxy did not pay much respect to the Uniate Rite before 1917 too, it was noted in previous chapters that Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was arrested by the occupational army authorities [czarist] at the end of 1914 for being suspicious.³²⁰

II

NKVD as the Organizing Factor behind the Council. Kostelnik's Visit to Moscow.

Meticulous work carried out by the NKGB-NKVD and the Communist party branches in Moscow and Ukraine continued to contact the higher level of the Greek-Catholic Church by talking to them about the whole variety of issues, starting with theology and ending with such questions as what do they think about the Soviet Union, or even do.

Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.19.-pp. 417-422. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. С-9113.-Т.19.-Арк. 417-422.], [translated by me].

³¹⁹ Frank Leslie Cross, Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (Oxford University Press, 2005) at p. 1437.

³²⁰ Jefferson J.A. Gatrall, Douglas M. Greenfield, *Alter Icons: The Russian Icon and Modernity*, and article by John-Paul Himka, *Moments in the History of an Icon Collection*, (Penn State Press, 2010) at p. 117.

I would like to see, - continued Kostelnyk, - that during the pre-war Poland one could stage the Ukrainian play and viewers were Poles. They would whistle, shout, perturb, i.e. do everything to cause offense against Ukrainians. Generally, You cannot imagine how we are satisfied with our trip to Kyiv and Moscow. I repeat, for the Church and for its clergy our trip will have historical meaning, and again we are giving You our gratitude, and to the Chairman of the Lviv Regional Party Committee comrade Kozyrev, who gave us the trip documents sealed by his signature.³²¹

Already mentioned before, Father Gavriil Kostelnyk was already moving closer to the co-operation with the Soviet government, he was obviously standing further away from the Papal authority and could be used as someone, who would completely reverse against the legality of the Greek-Catholic Church. In one way or another, this was the first major hierarch in the Church without strong allegiance neither to Pope nor to Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, and the state did understand it very quickly. The same notion regarding Gavriil Kostelnyk was reflected by Josyf Slipyj in his memoirs where he clearly pointed out at his weakness behind the wish to become a bishop, but simultaneously he mentioned Kostelnyk's anti-Soviet position in the past, and in some way due to that, his fears before the authorities, therefore a strong degree of cooperation.³²² At the same time, it was becoming obvious that the Greek-Catholic Church is going to be legally erased in Ukraine, and the new Metropolitan was well aware of it. Once he understood that Gavriil Kostelnyk and others on his side will not be against the nullification of the Union of Brest-Litovsk of 1596, Slipyj was openly telling Kostelnyk about the fact that he knew about his pro-Soviet position and even said that the latter should just carry on with it.³²³ Notably, the NKGB-NKVD and Communist party authorities were planning to use the UGCC against the anti-Soviet fighting in western Ukraine. On the other hand, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army [UPA] was fractionated, did not have any leader, which could control the whole movement. One of the most powerful UPA leaders, Roman Shukhevych did contact the Church once, and Father Klimentiy Sheptytsky told him about the Soviet plans to stop his war against them, Josyf Slipyj knew that the UPA will not simply obey the Soviet authorities.³²⁴ The resistance movement is not the topic of this research, and therefore will not be described in detail, merely if it touches the matters of the main topic – the Church. Its authority well understood why the resistance is taking place, the West of Ukraine did not want to become a part of the USSR once again, the Church – even if it wanted to really collaborate with the Soviet system, still would never really influence the resistance movement because it had no political representation or even the press agency, plus because it knew the reasons of resistance, the UGCC turned into an organization, which stood in the middle of it all. Also, it was the only way to survive, begin to fully co-work with the Soviet regime, openly say that it

³²¹ Report and records of the discussions made by the sub. chief of the Fourth Department of NKGB [Ukrainian Republican branch] S. Karin with the representatives of UGCC. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.19.-pp. 342-371. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. С-9113.-Т.19.-Арк. 342-371.], [translated by me].*

³²² Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, ed. by Ivan Datsko, Maria Goryacha, (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv-Rome, 2014) at pp. 154-155.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-156.

supports Stalin's leadership, accepts everything what may be thrown at them by the state's ideology, accuse all forms of the anti-Soviet resistance at arms, but at the same time cease to exist as an independent Church that always supported an idea of an independent Ukrainian state.³²⁵ Some, as Father Gavriil Kostelnyk began to break down before the system, it was very difficult to openly say no, as Josyf Slipyj did, and who never really stepped back and even inside the prison with terrible conditions could keep his position. One of the interrogation protocols made in 1945 clearly show Slipyj's relation to the armed anti-Soviet resistance, and it should not be forgotten that these words were said under tremendous pressure to make him say an opposite thing, to admit the connection with the resistance, but he continued to deny it.

Question: An investigation has determined that former metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and You have had connection with the Central OUN 'Provod', [Provod, means council., O.K.]. Give a clear testimony about it? Answer: I insist that metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and personally me did not have any connection with Central OUN 'Provod'. Question: What kind of connection did you have with the deputy chair of the Central OUN 'Provod' Jaroslav Stetsko? Answer: I did not have any connection with Stetsko Jaroslav, and I don't know whether he is the deputy chair of the OUN 'Provod'.³²⁶

III

Bishop Khomyshyn. UPA and the UGCC Clergy.

Eventually, the Council itself turned out to be possible merely through those among the clergy, who agreed to co-operate, willingly or under a certain degree of pressure. The UGCC leadership could not really call for an open rebellion against the Soviet authorities because the latter was openly against the religious education or did not favor people going to churches on Sunday. Logically it led to self-liquidation of one part [not the largest within the UGCC], total destruction of the second part [arrests, deportations, etc.] and the third part went underground, it hid and ran away, did not listen to the Council's decision made by the first part of the Church, and to a great degree laid the base for the Greek-Catholic Church today.³²⁷

To dissolve the Union, the Soviet authorities, in collaboration with a number of priests, on March 10, 1946, at the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv convoked a synod at which both the dissolution of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church's union with Rome and its unification with the Russian Orthodox Church were proclaimed.³²⁸

³²⁵ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.19.-pp. 342-371. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.19.-Арк. 342-371].*

³²⁶ Interrogation protocol of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, May 10-11, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-pp. 263. [ДА СБ України.-Ф6.-Спр. С-9113.-Т. 16.- Арк. 263]. [translated by me].*

³²⁷ Vlad Naumescu, *Modes of Religiosity in Eastern Christianity: Religious Processes and Social Change in Ukraine*, (LIT Verlag, Münster, 2007) at p. 110.

³²⁸ Russell Bova, *Russia and Western Civilization*, (M.E. Sharpe, 2003) at p. 91.

It happened merely after most of the pro-unity with Rome priests were already jailed or got silenced in some repressive way. The Council of Lviv itself was supposed to be the message to the West, and Pope himself that the USSR did not plan to tolerate the whole idea of Union of Brest-Litovsk. Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was not part of the governing body anymore due to his imprisonment since April 1945, thus, it took one whole year to prepare the Council, neutralize all the forces within the Church that could somehow get in contact with their leader. This is how Josyf Slipyj recalled those days in his memoirs.

I was led out for investigations [interrogation., O.K.] day and night, so I was literally falling off the legs, and I was supposed to be held when being walked to the interrogation judge. Once, when I was led back from the interrogation at seven o'clock, I saw Bishop Grigoriy Khomyshyn, who was bent down and weakened, walked to the washbasin. My investigation was conducted by Goryun, later head of the KGB in Lviv, extremely rough and rustic person.³²⁹

Grigoriy Khomyshyn [he was heading the anti-Latinization campaign within the UGCC] was mentioned during the third chapter, and his relations with Andrei Sheptytsky were discussed. Metropolitan was constantly interrogated, deprived of sleep and normal food rations, the aim was to break him, and eventually offer the Kyiv Metropolia under the Russian Orthodox Church. It was supposed to be the hardest moment in his life, the real submission and freedom, and not only freedom, but the oldest Orthodox Metropolia in Eastern Europe. He did not choose submission and the leadership of the Soviet Ukrainian Orthodox Church under the patronage of ROC's Patriarchy but decided to face all the difficulties that could be chosen for him.

Then there was some cornel, which had arrested me in Lviv, sub. Minister (in 1946 the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs [NKVD., O.K.] was changed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the title "minister" was introduced [the separate branch of NKVD later called KGB was formed in the early 1950's, in 1946 called NKGB; thus, the NKVD gave birth to two separate organizations the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) and the Committee of the State Security (KGB)., O.K.] and other investigation judge, who in 1961 had confirmed that I was offered the Kyiv Metropolia, when they brought me to talks. But I strongly rejected it. Then began the new offences, but this did not lead to anything because I was already melting from the lack of energy.³³⁰

It should be underlined that at the time he was brought to Kyiv, to central [Republic] Ukrainian Soviet authorities [actually he was transferred there the following morning after his arrest in Lviv] due to his higher position in the UGCC. Many previously secret documents from his investigation are now available, and they bring light onto literally everything that happened during those interrogations and the whole investigation in general. It was the moment of total clash between two worlds, and practically there were only two choices. This quote from Metropolitan Slipyj is just once again showing it.

Our priests were given the choice of either joining the 'Church of the Regime' and thereby renouncing catholic unity or bearing for at least ten years the harsh fate of deportation and all

³²⁹ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 159.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

the penalties connected with it. The overwhelming majority of priests chose the way of the Soviet Union's prisons and concentration camps.³³¹

The following archival document shows that right from the beginning of the investigation against him, the NKVD-NKGB was trying to find out about any possible connection between the Greek-Catholic Church and the German occupation, one of the main purposes of these persecutions was standing upon this particular issue.³³² At the same time, the investigation was trying to find connections between the UGCC and the armed UPA resistance. Slipyj was thoroughly asked about what the real position of the Church about this issue was, and how everything was organized between them and the resistance. Metropolitan said that there are two major factions in the Ukrainian insurgency and both of them fight each other, groups led by Stepan Bandera are more radical, those under Andrei Melnyk believe in clandestine methods, and the previous Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was trying to stop the war between Ukrainians [aka. These two groups].³³³ Slipyj also was pointing out that the German authorities were not informed about what the UGCC was doing, especially when it came to clear internal policies, Sheptytsky wanted to slow down repressions against the Ukrainian peasants by telling them to give contingents to the German Army, but without any collaboration, just to escape prosecutions.³³⁴ In other words, to catch the Greek-Catholic Church for even the smallest collaboration was put out as the main target of the investigation, nearly every interrogation report is full of questions that tried to "uncover" co-operation between them and the Nazi system. The second aim was set at the Ukrainian post-war anti-Soviet insurgency in the Ukraine's West, and particularly it was necessary for the Soviet authorities to connect the UGCC with it, if it was impossible to openly make the latter co-operate against the insurgency. Simply there was a plan to link German occupation with the Greek-Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army [various factions in and out of Ukraine].

Soviet suppression of the Uniate Church was ultimately aimed at breaking up the symbolic relationship that had developed since the nineteenth century between Greek Catholicism and intense consciousness in Galicia. It was also directed at undermining armed resistance in western Ukraine, led by the 90,000-strong Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the nationalist underground, which initially offered shelter to the catacomb church.³³⁵

The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was literally taken in between of the conflict, even though it was not meant to be the political institution in the first place. Certainly, any and particularly this Church was trying not to get involved in political and war-like agenda, in many

³³¹ Sabrina Petra Ramet (editor), *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union*, an article by Myroslaw Tataryn, *The re-emergence of the Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic Church in the USSR*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005) at p. 293.

³³² Interrogation protocol of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, April 17, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 116-120.* [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 68069-фн.-Т.1.-Арк. 116-120].

³³³ *Ibid.*, *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 116-120.*

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, *F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 116-120.*

³³⁵ Michael Bourdeaux, *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, an article by Bohdan Bociurkiw, *Politics and Religion in Ukraine: The Orthodox and the Greek Catholics*, (M.E. Sharpe, 1995) at pp. 135-136.

ways it was created by the whole variety of such issues that denied war or violence. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was seriously involved in politics and cultural education [times and his personal character made him do it] of the western Ukraine [that was under his ecclesiastical authority, and beyond], but still during the World War II and after it, the UGCC was caught up in the swirl that was too far from theology and clearly matters of religion. Andrei Sheptytsky and Josyf Slipyj became unofficial Ukrainian or Galician ambassadors [said in the previous chapters, but without any official power].

Technically it was dragged into the conflict because even though it was not the political party, it was defending the state of religious pluralism and freedom of conscience.

IV

Political Position of the UGCC

From here comes the notion that the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine was always on the side of nationalists, but it's usually forgotten that even way back in the 1930s Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky tried to accuse all the militant types of fighting against the Polish Second Republic.³³⁶ The support of the national cause on one hand, and militancy on the other are two different kinds of ways to achieve the goal of independence or the Church autonomy; the Church never wanted or asked to back the second [militant] way. A previous head of the UGCC used all sorts of diplomatic methods to defend the Ukrainian autonomy within any state it was incorporated to, and for example, during the notorious 'pacification' campaign did use diplomacy [ecclesiastic] by visiting Poznan and Warsaw.³³⁷ After the arrest of all major leaders of the UGCC in 1945-46, the Soviet authorities were trying to make a link between them and all armed resistance units, however, it was not easy to accomplish. Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was not buying into the new post, which was offered to him, he continued to insist on his peaceful mission and believed in the illegality of the destruction of his Church. In many ways, he became an advocate of the whole organization, authorities could not destroy him physically, and therefore, needed to keep him alive. While he was imprisoned Slipyj continued to defend the Church's integrity, even after its formal dispersion. His role as the major unifier of the UGCC, someone who witnessed the illegality of the organizational destruction, and the Soviet government could not do anything about his strong and determined position. Without breaking the highest leadership of the Church, it was impossible to completely subdue it, especially if its Metropolitan shared a lot of international support, *generally by fighting him they fought the Pope and the Catholic Church worldwide*. Merely prosecuting the UGCC was not enough, so this is the major reason why the Council of 1946 in Lviv was called together out of the remaining clergy that agreed with what was to come. Once again it should be said that some did believe in their actions, they wanted to break with the Catholic Church and thought that the

³³⁶ Roy P. Domenico, Mark Y. Hanley, *Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Politics*, (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006) at p. 511.

³³⁷ Peter Galadza, *The Theology and Liturgical Work of Andrei Sheptytsky (1865-1944)*, (Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2004) at p. 73.

Union of Brest-Litovsk in 1596 was not honestly established.³³⁸ This sort of notion had always existed among the Greek-Catholics, but on the other side, there were many priests, who did it out of their own safety. Sharing the same faith with their Metropolitan was not so simple, many were offered freedom, parishes, and guarantees not to be arrested in the future.

V

Bishop G. Kostelnyk Improves His Relations with Moscow

Some [as was noticed before] were naively believing that now the Soviet Union is tolerating the Orthodox Church, and they have the moral precedent to unite with it, they could believe that the Communist Party was turning away from the militant anti-theism, and now there is nothing wrong with cooperating with the system. It was shown above in one of the NKVD documents, which explores Gavriil Kostelnyk's activity during his delegation to Moscow. He was expecting to see the ROC under suppression during the 1930s but was deceived by its sudden legalization. Here is an excerpt from the archival document [an additional one].

FATHER KOSTELNYK told that, 'a few days ago Lviv was visited by some responsible worker (an aide), a Party member of some "ministry" from Kiev'. This responsible aide has visited KOSTELNYK, i.e. was visiting his home, drank and ate. Who was that KOSTELNYK did not say? Following KOSTELNYK'S words, this "ministry worker" had categorically proclaimed that, 'in the USSR, and particularly in Ukraine, now there is a religious upheaval, that any kind of return to the previous anti-religious, anti-Church policies of the Soviet authority is completely impossible'.³³⁹

VI

Material Possession of the UGCC in the 1940s and Bishop G. Kostelnyk's Changing Ideas

In 1943 the Greek-Catholic Church was incorporating 4488 churches and chapels, 5 seminaries, 1610 monks and nuns, 1 theological academy [in Lviv, previously headed by Josyf Slipyj], 2987 priests, 540 theologians, and 35 publishing houses.³⁴⁰ It included not merely the territory of Galicia, but also Mukachevo [Transcarpathia] and Pryashiv regional eparchies, and Lemko apostolic administration [Lemskivshyna region]. These statistics did not include the

³³⁸ Report and notes on the discussions of the Deputy Chair of the Fourth Department of NKGB of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic S. Karin with the UGCC representatives, January 30-31, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.19.-pp. 342-371. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Сп.С-9113.-Т.19.-Арк. 342-371.

³³⁹ From the operative report of the Second Division of the Lviv Regional NKGB in regards to the priest Gavriil Kostelnyk, April 11, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-pp. 220, 221. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. С-9113.-Т.16.-Арк. 220, 221.], [translated by me].

³⁴⁰ O. Zinkevych, T.R. Loncini, *Martyrology of Ukrainian Churches. Volume II, The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church*, (Toronto, 1985) at pp. 49-57.

UGCC in diaspora, Canada, US, Australia, and other parts of Europe; this issue will be discussed in the following chapters. In May 1945 [after the arrest of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj] the initiative group headed by Gavriil Kostelnyk (even though he was not on the top of the Church leadership, he was a knowledgeable theologian and considered to be just an extraordinary person) was formed, its major aim was to prepare the Council in Lviv that would unite the Greek-Catholics with the ROC and nullify the Union of Brest.³⁴¹ This group also included Mikhail Melnyk (general vicary of the Peremyshlyany regional eparchy), and Antony Pelvetsky (one of the major representatives of the Stanislaviv eparchy, the one which was previously headed by Andrei Sheptytsky before his mission as the Metropolitan).³⁴² These three hierarchs would lead the Council and later head the liquidated UGCC under the cap of the Russian Orthodox Church and its Ukrainian regional exarchate in Kyiv. All these figures were not simple representatives of clergy, all of them had their own beliefs and political values, they were the true professionals in theology and every step that was carried out by them may be judged from many different angles. On the first glance, Gavriil Kostelnyk did not seem to be the real friend of the Soviet Union, one of the NKVD documents reveals his personal drama, which took place during the first Soviet occupation.

ABOUT KOSTELNYK- bishop had told me the following: "...KOSTELNYK has his own vendetta with NKVD, - said bishop. Particularly, following the words of bishop NIKITA [Nykyta Budka., O.K.], NKVD arrested KOSTELNYK'S son in 1941 and the latter became missing. After the departure of the Red Army from Lviv in 1941, KOSTELNYK had found personal belongings of his son in the Zamarstynov prison...". Thus, came the suspicion that KOSTELNYK'S son was executed in that prison. KOSTELNYK'S daughter, a student, ran away from the Bolsheviks to the West and now stays in Yugoslavia (the same was said to me by KOSTELNYK himself in Kyiv).³⁴³

This operative report [already mentioned before], which described Josyf Slipyj and his close circles (written by various agents) brings another perspective on the figure of Gavriil Kostelnyk, but at the same time makes his actions even less understandable. If he was experiencing the destruction of his family caused by the Soviet occupation, why did he decide to head the Council of Lviv and go against Josyf Slipyj and the UGCC in general? NKVD reports and documents give some crucial information; however, they cannot clearly point out his inner motivations. Everything that was said on the previous page about these motives are only deriving from the documents [his mind was unreachable]. Nevertheless, what was done by him and his aides during the Council put the final line, he did decide to co-work with the Soviet government. At the same time, it may be said that he tried to protect the Church, possibly save lives by blending it with the ROC, such thoughts also may circulate among those who study this particular case.

³⁴¹ M. Kashuba, I. Mirchuk, *Gavriil Kostelnyk: The Union of Brest 1596-1996*, (Lviv, 1996) at pp. 210-214.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 210-215.

³⁴³ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-pp. 90-92. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.16.-Арк. 90-92.], [translated by me].*

VII

After the Council

After the formal liquidation of the UGCC, there was some degree of deficit among the clergy, which understood local traditions and received enough respect within the western Ukrainian laity [and in Kyiv too]. As some reports made by the curator of religious affairs and ROC under the supervision of the Ukrainian Soviet Cabinet of Commissars [before the Cabinet of Ministers was formed in the early 1950s] P. Khodchenko witness this particular issue. He could not fit in.

Others complained about commissioners using administrative pressure. One commissioner reportedly said, “If I agree, you can send a priest to a parish; if I don’t, you can’t.” Conflict between the Orthodox Church’s exarch in Ukraine, Metropolitan Ioann of Kiev and Galicia, and the Council’s commissioner for Ukraine, I. Khodchenko, required Karpov’s intervention.³⁴⁴

The Greek-Catholics were winning by the fact that the newly arrived priests [sent by the ROC] possessed a much lower level of theological education and did not have any serious authority among the local population due to its bad knowledge of the Ukrainian language, plus local also believed that these changes may bring another wave of Russification to their territory. Historian and publicist V. Sergiychuk believed that all the proclamations made by the above-mentioned initiative group [in the name of the ROC] were composed by the NKVD.³⁴⁵ Another researcher, O. Lysenko thinks that even the small amount of priests, which willingly agreed to unite with the ROC, wanted peaceful co-existence with the Soviet state and longed for unity with the rest of Ukraine [non-Greek-Catholic parts], and did not become truly Orthodox.³⁴⁶ There are also some thoughts about Gavriil Kostelnyk’s intentions that may answer the question set up in the previous chapter, why did he switch sides, even if his family was not pro-Soviet, but actually suffered under its authority. Lysenko presupposes that Kostelnyk wanted to get out from the shadows of such authoritative theologians and religious movers and shakers as Andrei Sheptytsky, Josyf Slipyj, Grigory Khomyshyn, Nykyta Budka etc., plus he did not want to merely blend his Church with the ROC, but carry out the missionary work in the latter organization and give the Greek-Catholics another sip of air.³⁴⁷ This notion could be another measure to understand those who decided to co-operate with the regime, personal motives, some degree of jealousy against popular hierarchs, attempts to save lives of the clergy and laity, and even bring some of the Greek-Catholic spirit into the Russian Orthodox Church by blending with it. Possibly all of these reasons could exist, they all may to some degree explain the co-operative actions made by Kostelnyk and those who decided to side with him during the

³⁴⁴ Tatiana A. Chumachenko, Edward E. Roslof: *Church and State in Soviet Russia: Russian Orthodoxy from World War II to the Khrushchev Years*, (Routledge, 2015) at p. 24.

³⁴⁵ V. Sergiychuk, *The Unbended Church: The Movement of the Greek-Catholics in Ukraine for Faith and Statehood*, [Нескорена церква. Подвижництво греко-католиків України в боротьбі за віру і державу], (Kyiv, Dnipro Publishing, 2001) at p. 23.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

³⁴⁷ O. E. Lysenko, *The Church Life In Ukraine: 1943-1946*, [Церковне життя в Україні. 1943-1946] (The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ukrainian History, Kyiv, 1998) at p. 282.

Council. Another NKVD report shows Gavriil Kostelnyk's belief in the fact that religion in USSR is no more under pressure, and the Orthodox Church can function without being prosecuted.

Later this discussion went about the attitude of the Soviet power toward religion, and KOSTELNYK said the following to an agent: "From talks among the higher authorities in Moscow I have formed an opinion that in the Soviet Union religion is not threatened by anything because there formed an opinion that without religious support any power is weak, Russian clergy on the other hand is actively supporting the Bolshevik power, and thus, we should support the latter."³⁴⁸

No matter how could some of the motives appeared to be [in theory], they totally sink in the totalitarian atmosphere of the day, deportations, executions, prosecution against clergy that wanted to keep the UGCC intact, and just sheer co-existence with Stalin, which in return resulted in the signing of deals with the government. For this matter, the Council of Lviv in 1946 went into the history of the UGCC, Ukraine, and the freedom of conscience as one of the darkest pages that could be written by the Soviet and generally, the authoritarian history textbook.

VIII

More Arrests after the Council

A lot of details can be found inside documents that collect interrogations of Josyf Slipyj, questions aimed at him, and his answers explain many aspects of the Soviet and UGCC relations to each other. NKVD-NKGB wanted to find out what was the role of Josyf Slipyj [when he was already a successor of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky] during the German occupation, did he ever want to participate in the declaration of the Ukrainian State during that time. Slipyj was always saying that he did not have any relations with those who wanted such a state [under the German authority], he did not say it even after weeks and months of the interrogation.³⁴⁹ If the Soviet authorities could prove this relation, then it would be the number one reason why they delegitimize UGCC, especially if its highest priest was openly participating in the collaboration. Nothing could be proven, the UGCC was not longing for such co-operation, and what is most important the new Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was not broken down and did not give the NKGB this sort of precedent. All these accusations and constructions of criminal cases were necessary to bring in the legitimate base for the Council of Lviv, in other words, why the biggest Eastern Catholic Church was being dismantled in the country, which at least on paper had agreed to tolerate religion.³⁵⁰ Yet another document made

³⁴⁸ From the operative report of the Second Division of the Lviv Regional NKGB in regards to the priest Gavriil Kostelnyk, April 2, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-pp. 172, 173. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.16.-Арк. 172, 173.], [translated by me].*

³⁴⁹ Interrogation protocol of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, April 25-26, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 128-134. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 68069-фп.-Т.1.-Арк. 116-120].*

³⁵⁰ See the 1936 version of the Soviet Constitution.

in August 1945 shows that Slipyj was probably forced to tell more about the stance of Pope and the Vatican against the Soviet system. It shows that every answer made by Josyf Slipyj is not really hiding the real position of the Catholic Church worldwide against the Soviet, materialistic, anti-theistic state.³⁵¹ It was another line of offensive against the UGCC, not try to accuse it in collaboration with the Nazis, but just plainly put it as part of the ‘global Catholicism’, which is working against the Soviet power and Communism. It will be one of the clauses of the Council of Lviv, which proclaimed its ‘patriotic’ standing alongside with the Russian Orthodox Church against the Catholic Anti-Soviet position. This will remain to be one of the strongest predicaments made by the Soviet authorities against Greek-Catholics in the USSR, its position toward the Communist Party [as a major source of atheistic ideology at that time] shall never be accepted, especially if this position was entwined with the wish to have an independent Ukraine and autonomous Greek-Catholic authority. Both beliefs simply could not be tolerated in the Soviet Union, and vividly this standing behind the UGCC was seriously different from the position of ROC. Most of the researchers pay attention to the fact that during a visit of the UGCC delegation to Kyiv, just before the Council in Lviv, the incumbent exarch of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, Ioann, had ordained Fathers M. Melnyk and A. Pelevetsky [mentioned above] into the Orthodox bishops. Thus, at the time of the Council, they were the Orthodox hierarchs and did not have any ecclesiastical connection to the UGCC.³⁵² Somewhat the ‘psychological attack’ against those priests, who still were doubting the ‘rationality’ of the re-union with ROC was yet another publication in the press just before the Council about an end of investigation over Josyf Slipyj and other UGCC bishops, and the beginning of a tribunal against them.³⁵³ Almost without any breaks, the arrests continued among priests and laity, so it was not directed merely against the highest leaders of the Church such as Josyf Slipyj, but practically against anyone, who could still consider himself to be a part of the Greek-Catholic Church. Under these circumstances, during the Council of Lviv, which lasted from 8-10 of March 1946, two hundred and sixteen delegates from the clergy and nineteen from laity decided to liquidate the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and establish the union of it with the Russian Orthodox Church. It should be mentioned that under a similar scenario in 1949 there was proclaimed the de-legalization of the Union of Uzhhorod (1646), [mentioned in the first chapter]. It marked the absorption of the Greek-Catholic Church in Transcarpathia (*Zakarpattia* region) by the ROC. This Greek-Catholic Church was standing slightly on the sideway [it’s not the main topic of the study] from the UGCC and continued its tradition not from 1596, but from 1646, however, it's widely considered to be on the side of the Eastern Catholic tradition in Ukraine.³⁵⁴ Technically, this was the end of the official existence of the

³⁵¹ Stenogramm of the interrogation of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, August 30, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.2.-pp. 27-57.* [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Сп. 68069-фп.-Т.2.-Арк. 27-57].

³⁵² I. Bilas, *Repressive and Punitive System in Ukraine: 1917-1954, Volume I*, (Kyiv, 1994) at p. 330. O. E. Lysenko, *The Church Life In Ukraine: 1943-1946*, [Церковне життя в Україні. 1943-1946] (The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ukrainian History, Kyiv, 1998) at p. 309.

³⁵³ I.O. Andrukhiv, *The Activity of “initiative committee” in Stanislaviv in Regards to the Preparation of the Council of Lviv (June, 1945-February, 1946). Pages of the Military history of Ukraine: 3b [in articles], Issue #7, Part 2*, (The Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of the Ukrainian History, Kyiv, 2003) at p. 146.

³⁵⁴ A.P. Kotsur, N.V. Teres, *The History of Ukraine: From the Ancient Times Until Modernity. The Collection of Documents and Materials*, (Books-XXI, 2008) at pp. 119-172.

Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine, until its rebirth in 1989. From then on, the UGCC was existing only in the underground state, or in the diaspora, its believers in Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union were prosecuted and were forced to accept the decision taken during the Council of Lviv. The following chapters will describe these historical pages of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, its further struggles to survive, and particularly shall focus on the Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj's activities to preserve it.

Josyf Slipyj: His Mission in Ukraine and Abroad

This chapter discusses a figure of Metropolitan during his imprisonment and later exile abroad. An importance of his position not to accept any terms set by the Council of 1946. At that point, he turned to be the head of the UGCC without any legal rights in the Soviet Union.

I

J. Slipyj's Role

Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj is going to be discussed further on because of his great significance in the life of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church after World War II. His personality cannot be separated from what was going on with the institution, when it was officially liquidated in the USSR, and could merely exist in the diaspora or in hiding. Many believe that if there was no such personality, the Church itself would never be able to survive [alongside his predecessor Metropolitan Sheptytsky], he sort of managed to put it together into one survivalist structure, and eventually was able to give it another sip of life. His luck to get out from the Soviet prison in the early 1960s gave him, and the UGCC that necessary chance of getting it from the underground one day through consolidating it with the Church structures that existed outside of Ukraine.³⁵⁵ Let's lead this study in the direction of his importance to the Greek-Catholic institutions in Ukraine, various means of the Church's survival, and certainly what was taking place right after the arrest of Josyf Slipyj. It was already discussed what took place during the Council of Lviv (1946), the Church was officially united with the Russian Orthodox Church, and the Union of Brest [Litovsk] became annulled. The system tried to compromise him before the laity in and outside of Ukraine, the most important steps that were taken by them attempted to put him against the Greek-Catholic clergy and vice versa. It can be seen from the numerous documents that previously used to be secret, and now became available to historians. All of them point out the strategy chosen by the NKVD-NKGB, and his line of defense, which was not broken despite all the odds. This particular side of Slipyj's character is probably the reason why he did not break down because if he did [for example decided to take an offer of leading the Orthodox Metropoly of Kyiv, and it was indeed his sheer choice] it

³⁵⁵ Ostkirchliche Studien, Volume 58, (Augustinus-Verlag, 2009) at p. 311.

would really make the UGCC into something very different from what it became today.³⁵⁶ This matter of resistance against the jurisdictional liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church truly became very political, clearly ecclesiastical affairs indeed played their traditional role, but strongly switched toward the affairs of the purely survivalist nature. Certainly, this huge responsibility should not hang on this religious institution alone, and there should not be means of trying to make it more than it was, it is particularly important to understand. Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was not the acting president or later [after being freed] the same type of figure, including his time in exile, it will be too brave to say all of that, however, some degree of these roles did overcome Slipyj, and the institution subordinate to him. He did not try to hide his anti-Communist position, and the Soviet archives speak about it, for example, in one of the recorded interrogations, he openly noticed his role in bringing up the young students of his Theological Academy in Lviv [way back in the early 1930s] from the anti-Soviet position.³⁵⁷ He denied any pro-Nazi cooperation of which the UGCC was constantly accused of [it literally turned to be one of the most important predicaments behind the whole case against the Church], but decided not to hide his anti-Stalinist beliefs.³⁵⁸ In one way he was seriously pressured by the NKGB, but at the same time his position made him what he became later on, plus he truly thought that the system, which is prosecuting the UGCC is not right. In the following years, he is going to make it his *modus vivendi*, thus, most likely there was no need to hide the real beliefs before the interrogators. This chapter is planning to concentrate upon the role of Josyf Slipyj in the life of the UGCC after World War II, in and outside of Ukraine. Particularly, it may be divided into two parts, one discusses the period before his personal freedom and the Second Vatican Council, the next part may discuss his activities after he left the USSR [and his arrival at the Council]. Generally, it should talk about his significance in the Church, on both sides of the border.

II

The New Metropolitan Lays the Framework for the Underground Existence

Physically and emotionally the most difficult period belongs to these eighteen years of imprisonment, exiles, interrogations, literally everything that was aimed to break Josyf Slipyj, and therefore, completely bring down the UGCC. As it was noted many times before, as long as he remained alive and loyal to the Vatican, the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine [and abroad] could not be bent over, it still existed despite any decisions taken by the Council of Lviv. Not long before his arrest, the Lviv Regional NKGB began to fix all kinds of activities on the side of UGCC that was aimed at the survival methods, particularly invented, or better to say planned through by the new Metropolitan. Technically, these activities were based upon

³⁵⁶ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, ed. by Ivan Datsko, Maria Goryacha, (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv-Rome, 2014) at p. 159.

³⁵⁷ Interrogation protocol of Metropolitan of the UGCC Josyf Slipyj. 18-19 May, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 185-195. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Сп. 68069-фн.-Т.1.-Арк. 185-195].*

³⁵⁸ From the KGB operative notification in the town of Yeniseysk in regards to working with Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, July 17, 1955. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.3.-p. 94-96. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. С-9113.-Т.3.-Арк. 94-96.], [translated by me].*

one document issued by the Church [illegally] titled, “Basic rules of the contemporary pastoral duties” [основні правила теперішнього душпастирства], it was the whole set of instructions that was supposed to guide every priest, even in the parishes located somewhere far away from Lviv. For example, in the special notice dated from 28 of February, 1945 the NKGB is seriously worried about everything that was written in there, and the information about this Church document was given out by an agent, who lived in the Metropolitan’s residence at the St. Jura Cathedral.

In the pamphlet consisting forty-seven pages, there is no identified typography in which it was published, also there is no written circulation amount and no time of issuance. Instead of the author’s name, who published this brochure, only initials “F.J.S.” (it should be believed that the author is Father Josyf Slipyj). In its content, the pamphlet is an anti-Soviet issue made by the Archeparchy of the Uniate Church, in which priests are called under any circumstances of a “hard life” on the territory of the USSR, remain loyal to the Vatican and use any possibilities for spreading of the Union in those places where those Greek-Catholic priests will be, especially in exile, and those who will not have connections with the Archeparchy.³⁵⁹

This particular document [or a pamphlet] issued by the UGCC is probably the roadmap to an underground existence of this organization in the future, it gives clear and simple directions on how to live under the totalitarian regime. What to do when the state is completely everywhere, and there is no way the laity or priests can openly manifest their religious practices. In the citation given above, the secret police are paying attention to the instruction to those priests, who will be sent away from Ukraine, and where they shall not find any contacts with the higher authorities of the Greek-Catholic Church. They should make their own decisions in times of extreme difficulties, see the light of truth from within, and hope for better times. Also, this brochure is not asking everyone who is loyal to the Vatican, stay openly religious and faithful to the UGCC all the time, Josyf Slipyj was talking about hiding, and helping others by not turning into martyrs. It was necessary to survive, and not merely act as Zealots during the siege of Masada, the Metropolitan understood this detail very clearly, despite the fact that often there was no other choice, but to do as the first. Also, he did not call for total co-operation and peacemaking with the regime, they were far too different from these two sides of life, thus, survivalism turned to be the plan of that gray day. For instance, in his memoirs, Josyf Slipyj is giving an example of one Orthodox bishop [Atanasiy Sakharov], whom he met in prison, and who was already broken by the system after spending some time in the labor camps. The latter believed that there is no more reason not to become obedient to the ROC’s Patriarch Aleksiy, and soon he was sent to Moscow.³⁶⁰ Actually, Bishop Sakharov went through numerous trials since the 1920s and possibly represents the face of the Russian Orthodoxy after 1917, it was not able to exist as an independent organizational body anymore,

³⁵⁹ Special notice of the head of the Department of Lviv Regional NKGB Voronin in regards to the spreading of a brochure “Basic rules of the contemporary pastoral duties” among the Greek-Catholic priests. January, 28, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-p. 134-137. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.16.-Арк. 134-137.]*, [translated by me].

³⁶⁰ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 175.

the state was fully in control of it.³⁶¹ The pamphlet produced by Slipyj was trying to save the Greek-Catholic Church, and not to put it into the same situation in which the ROC was by the mid-1940s.

In the brochure there are examples: “Some father is under threats that he will be exiled, if a girl (his daughter) will not join Komsomol [Communist Youth., O.K.]. Teacher asks her in school, whether she knows that it is forbidden to carry out religious practices. She must give the following answer: “I know which responsibility I take upon myself”. Also, it was noted in the brochure that it’s possible to join Komsomol and Pioneers, but herewith hide the believe in God and continue to believe in the Church. “Belonging to Komsomol – is not a sin and Godlessness. Sometimes this should be done for preservation of one’s parents. Haring away from prosecutions is possible and it should be done by those, whose survival for the national good is necessary and who is under the nearing danger’.³⁶²

The NKGB became extremely worried when they have read these lines.

III

Government Searches for the Leaders of Underground

Immediately, they decided to find who was the exact author[s] (even though it was Slipyj, certainly more people could be involved in the technical production), and where it was published. It was more dangerous than anything they were witnessing before because it was the direct call for actions, and the system could not really pinpoint these actions’ aftermath. *Violent methods of resistance were not mentioned at all, merely the opposite.* Works that were published in diaspora and researches made by many contemporary historians disprove the widely spread Soviet historiography that the higher echelons of the UGCC were backing the violence against the Communist activists or Poles. As was said by a historian of the UGCC war period O. Lysenko, previous Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, and the Bishop of Stanislaviv, Grygory Khomyshyn, both were acting against any kinds of violent acts as the way of achieving political goals, [plus the retaliatory measures fell on the heads of common people].³⁶³ The same beliefs were shared by the new Metropolitan, and his widely spread pamphlet serves as another proof of it. NKGB and the Communist Party were getting to understand that the resistance will not always be based on martyrdom and self-sacrifice. This excerpt from Agnieszka Halemba’s book shows how difficult and dangerous the underground service was getting for the Church.

³⁶¹ Recommended literature on the Bishop Atanasiy Sakharov, *Сборник. Последнее Следственное Дело Архиепископа Феодора (Поздеевского), глава 2, Collection. The Last Investigation Case of the Archbishop Theodor (Pozdeevskiy), section 2*, (Litres, 2018). [translated by me].

³⁶² *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-p. 134-137. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.16.-Арк. 134-137.]*, [translated by me].

³⁶³ O.E. Lysenko, *The Church Life in Ukraine. 1943-1946*, (The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Institute of the History of Ukraine, Kyiv, 1998) at p. 18.

In 1952, a wave of arrests not only Ivan Marhitych from the Irshava region, but also other active underground Greek Catholic priests such as Ivan Horinetski, Ivan Roman, and Ivan Chenheri. Thereafter, Petro Oros was in charge of underground services for nearly the entire region until August 28, 1953, when he was shot by the local militia while returning from an underground service.³⁶⁴

People and the Greek-Catholic Church in western Ukraine would change their ways, slip deep into the underground where they will be harder to find, the ritual practices might be different from what it was known before, and thence, the Communist system shall remain powerless against this sort of resistance.

IV

Arrest of Josyf Slipyj and Further Prosecution

Merely a few months later, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was arrested, and another way of persecutions began, this time the aim was to totally destroy the Greek-Catholic Church; everything ended with the Council of Lviv, and it was discussed in the previous chapter. Even though the UGCC was indeed liquidated after this Council, Josyf Slipyj and hundreds of priests were out there on the wide territories of the USSR, some still resisting in the Ukraine's West, but mostly in exiles or labor camps. It was another reality, much worse than it was before 1941 during the first occupation, when even after being pressured from any possible angle, the Greek-Catholic Church was at least allowed to exist. It was merely the single non-Communist institution, which could exist in the Soviet Ukraine [as of 1939 Galician regions]. Moreover, it drew more believers during that time, and many were from the Orthodox stock, who have previously lived outside of the western Ukraine, needed religion due to its prohibition in other areas of the USSR, and found the UGCC, which was very similar to what they have missed.³⁶⁵ This time [as of 1946] everything was very different, and the Greek-Catholic Church had to learn other forms of existence.

When reading protocols of investigators (once I have written to the attorney telling that three fourths of it are lies, something what they could not excuse me for later on), thus, it also should be apprehended that investigators are godless, bullies without moral principles, often little educated, they have their own 'drilled in' perceptions, and previously went through their professional monstrous schooling. Then it's possible to understand that such an animal was not empowered to write differently and very often was not able to speak out culturally. For example, the universal mission of the Church was considered by them to be the imperialism, covetousness, and thievery of Popes. Catholic Action according to them is the company of

³⁶⁴ Agnieszka Halemba, *Negotiating Marian Apparitions: The Politics of Religion in Transcarpathian Ukraine*, (Central European University Press, 2015) at p. 168.

³⁶⁵ An extract from the operative report of the Second Division of the Main Department of State Security of NKVD - Central Office, about meetings with the UGCC Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and his circles. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.11.-pp. 265-279. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. С-9113.-Т.11.-Арк. 265-279.]*

scams and so on. Not only once, out of the best intentions it was impossible to counter this, through any means it was exceedingly difficult to explain anything. So, to comprehend their protocols, only with these lenses it should be read and explained.³⁶⁶

By talking about lenses, Josyf Slipyj meant that merely by understanding what kind of people those investigators were, it was possible to conceive their actions. This was directed against the whole Greek-Catholic Church, and not only against some priests or clearly anti-Communist laity as it was between 1939-1941 period. Generally speaking, the time of survival with such a system could not be more complicated, however, the UGCC, its tradition had some experience of living between the two worlds, staying out of 134ravel in the eyes of other political or religious forces. It goes back to the origins of the Greek-Catholic tradition, its emergence was caused by this tension, the fight between Orthodox and Catholic states, so the people who were once Orthodox had to adopt, live through and learn some elements of another religious culture.³⁶⁷ It formed the UGCC and it was used to maneuver, stand against something that could be seriously unfriendly, accept or reject offers, simply balance.

...the last remaining eparchy of Cholm was liquidated and resistance brutally repressed with the infamous slaughter of simple villagers in Drelow on 18 January 1874, and in Pratulin on 24 January of the same year, when imperial Cossack troops fired on the Greek Catholic faithful gathered in front of their church.³⁶⁸

Therefore, this period of the worst prosecutions against the Greek-Catholics [worse than mentioned above] was met with *certain experience*, very strong priesthood, which could not be fully broken, loyal populace that believed in its culture by means of religion of their fathers and of course, support from the outside. The greater institution of the Catholic Church worldwide was standing behind the UGCC, and if it gave its support [and it was unchangeable], its branch in Ukraine would exist. It was another challenge against the Soviet government, so to put all these issues under control, the state security system had to finally take off the mask of liberalism and lawfulness. Numerous appeals by monks to the authorities with pleas [based on the normative acts of the Soviet state] were completely ignored.

V

Monasteries and the Soviet Atheism

As I. Andrukhiv noted, these monks had no chance to enjoy the freedom of the Stalinist Constitution because already at the end of March, 1950 dwellers of the largest Greek-Catholic monastic center, male and female Goshiv Monastery in the Ivano-Frankivs'k region were

³⁶⁶ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 164.

³⁶⁷ Sheridan Gilley, Brian Stanley (editors), *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume 8, World Christianities C.1815-c.1914*, an article by Robert J. Taft, *Between east and west: the Eastern Catholic ('Uniate') churches*, (Cambridge University Press, 2006) at p. 414.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, at p. 414.

arrested.³⁶⁹ These methods were not really used during the first occupation, but right now they turned to be the main instrument against this religious institution. It was once underlined in the previous chapter that the Soviet Constitution was allowing religion to exist, it was not fully prohibited, however, the basic law of the USSR had nothing to do with the reality. It was written for the purpose of just meaningless existence according to those who stood against the system, or for ‘commercial purposes’ according to the system itself, to show how good it could be in the Soviet Union. It was always a matter of jokes among many dissidents, talk about this Constitution because on the paper it said one thing, and in reality, there was something different. Soviet historians, philosophers, religious studies specialists O. Utkin, O.V. Ogneva, V.V. Konyk, O. Gavrylyuk, I. Batyuk, V.V. Burkov, and many others tried to use the legal Acts and Constitutions of the USSR and the Soviet Socialist Ukrainian Republic to prove that there are rights, which protect religious organizations and communities in the Soviet Union. Also, they have attempted to accuse foreign ‘Sovietologists’ of falsifications of facts and tentatives to destabilize the Soviet society or crush its authority in foreign affairs.³⁷⁰ The system never applied to the reality, open admittance of being truly harsh or anti humane, it was just the opposite of this, the Soviet authorities wanted to show that everything that they do is based on humanitarian ideals, and even though they ideologically they did not accept religions, still they were tolerant – in quotes of course. It’s worth noticing that even these representatives of the Soviet historiography were later forced to admit the growing influence of the foreign Ukrainian research centers and their arguments. Thus, O. Utkin and O. Ogneva said that the foreign radio stations, organizations, and centers have in their possessions a lot of materials/proves, many experts, volumes of information, and influential capabilities of propaganda in their studies. Information that was spread by these foreign centers of study is apprehended by many people because they have powerful argumentative grounding behind them based on historical accuracy.³⁷¹ As was outlined by the authors of *Academic Religious Studies* [Академічного релігієзнавства] edited by Prof. Kolodny, the fight against religions in the Soviet Union (post-WWII period, particularly including the 1970s and 1980s) was also carried out under the ideological campaigns such as the atheistic counter-propaganda, its aim was to uncover and neutralize the so-called foreign clerical-nationalistic influence upon the Ukrainian people, halting of the ‘negative’ activity done by the foreign anti-Communist centers.³⁷² Nevertheless, this particular topic within this study will be discussed more in the following paragraphs and chapters and concentrate on the Greek-Catholic survival.

³⁶⁹ I. O. Andrukiv, *Liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Monasteries in the Stanislaviv Region during the Second Half of 1940s - early 1950s, XX c.*, [Ліквідація греко-католицьких монастирів на Станіславщині у другій половині 40-х - на початку 50-х рр. XX ст.], (Galychyna: Scientific, Cultural and Educational, Local Historical Digest, Ivano-Frankivs’k, 2004) at p. 157.

³⁷⁰ O.V. Ogneva, I.O. Utkin, *The Real and Illusory Freedom of Conscience*, (Scientific Thought, Kyiv, 1982) at p. 184. I.G. Batyuk, *Freedom of Conscience in the USSR*, (Kyiv, 1958) at p. 36. V.V. Burkov, *Under the “Mask of Christian Love”*, (Lenizdat, 1983) at p. 64.

³⁷¹ O.V. Ogneva, I.O. Utkin, *The Real and Illusory Freedom of Conscience*, p. 164.

³⁷² ed. Prof. A. Kolodny, *Academic Religious Studies*, [Академічне релігієзнавство], a textbook, (Kyiv, The World of Knowledge Publishing [Світ Знань], 2000) at p. 464.

VI

Peaceful Struggle Following the Arrest of Josyf Slipyj

It was the beginning of an underground activity led by Josyf Slipyj, who was incarcerated since April 1945, had no means of running his Church directly, but left the guidance, which was mentioned above. His pamphlet was important to mention because of many reasons, and the main one is that if a reader will understand it, then it shall be possible to grasp the Greek-Catholic survivalism after its official prohibition. No open resistance or martyrdom was necessary, only existence in peace with one's soul and beliefs, strength to avoid direct prosecutions, running away was allowed to preserve the life of someone who was actually escaping, and other innocent lives too. Peaceful ways were used by Josyf Slipyj, and it shows in his case.

Question: Soviet Government has nothing to do with the decision made by the Lviv Council of 1946 on the annexation of the Greek-Catholic Church, and your statement regarding this question is a slander against the Soviet Government. Answer the question, which means were used by You in the direction of the restoration of the Greek-Catholic Church activity in the USSR. Answer: I have already said that besides an official appeal to the higher Soviet authorities with the request to officially allow the Greek-Catholic Church to exist on the USSR territory, I did not do any other actions".³⁷³

This was the real *modus operandi* after the Council of Lviv, and the Metropolitan was heading the whole process of such survivalism, even though he did not run away, but stayed in prisons. His example gave more determination to others, who could run away, or he gave directions to those, who could avoid jail [unlike him] by joining such organizations as Komsomol, and it was not a sin to do so. Certainly, the secret police and the Communist Party were afraid of this kind of development due to another, better hidden and clandestine approach used by the UGCC. The state was reacting with the whole array of methods that included not merely arrests or deportations, but those that were mentioned in a paragraph above, the means of so-called counter-propaganda, the balancing between accusations against Greek-Catholics in being involved in the nationalistic armed resistance, to naming this religious organization as one which wants to dilute the unity between the Soviet Ukraine and its ties to Moscow. It seems that being the Greek-Catholic was simply unpatriotic and dangerous according to the Soviet ideological view.³⁷⁴

³⁷³ Interrogation protocol of the Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, July 1, 1958. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.65.-Case. S-67829-fp.-Vol.4.-pp. 35-42. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-67829-фп.-Т.4.-Арк. 35-42.] [translated by me].

³⁷⁴ Notification report of the Chair of the KGB under the Soviet of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic V. Nikitchenko to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on the implied measures aimed to stop the Uniate activity. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.9.-pp. 15-23. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.9.-Арк. 15-23.]

VII

Russian Orthodox Church under Control of the Government

On the other hand, it's already known that the Russian Orthodox Church deprived of any voice outside of the Soviet state [under the latter's ideological control] could have more freedom and was generally accepted by the system. Surely, the ROC had no rights to spread its purely ecclesiastical views, proselytize or criticize the state-run official propaganda of atheism, however, it was able to survive and was not completely destroyed. Moreover, here a few words may be said to the defense of the Orthodox conscience; the liberal element in the ROC was violently suppressed, was also seen as unpatriotic, anti-Soviet, cooperative with the Western anti-Communist centers of propaganda etc.³⁷⁵ The best example of such an approach was Gleb Yakunin, the priest who in 1975 wrote a letter to the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches where he accused the ROC of not standing for the religious freedoms [in the wider aspect, not only the Christian faith], not being in defense of the human rights, and collaboration with the Soviet oppressive regime.³⁷⁶

VIII

UGCC and its Connection to the Vatican. Soviet Mistrust.

So, going back to the Greek-Catholic question after World War II, and its Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, his Church was not seen as patriotic, it was the main accusation that was the grounding reason for the formal dismantling of it in 1946. On the example of ROC, it can be vividly seen that belonging to Christianity was not the core precedent for prosecutions, even though the state was openly anti-clerical and anti-theistic. More NKGB documents reveal this position, Josyf Slipyj was constantly questioned about his relations with the Vatican, and such questions as what he personally thinks about the latter's political position or is he planning to appeal to Pope for more support became crucial. Eastern Christian institutions that were organized and protected by the Vatican were under special attention.

Question: Who was studying in the "Collegium Rusicum", Ukrainian Seminary and "Institute Orientale"? Answer: In the "Collegium Rusicum" there were primarily Russian immigrants. The Seminary of St. Josaphat was incorporating Ukrainians from Galicia, Transcarpathia, Croatia and other countries, which had special directions from bishops. In the "Institute Orientale" there were people of different nationalities, who had a wish to work in the East after the completion of courses. Question: To which countries were sent those who finished courses at the "Collegium Rusicum" and the Ukrainian Seminary? Answer: Priests who graduated from the "Collegium Rusicum" and the St. Josaphat Ukrainian Seminary, under the direction of the "Eastern Congregation" were guided to the places where Russian and Ukrainian immigrants

³⁷⁵ Kristina Stoeckl, *The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights*, (Routledge, 2014) at p. 23.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

lived in order to carry out the Catholic work among them. I know that those priests who came from the above mentioned schools were sent to America, Canada, Brazil, France, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and other countries.³⁷⁷

From this extract it's visible that everything that was related to the Vatican's Eastern activities was under the microscope, not only Ukrainians were involved by also Russian emigres, who also lived in many countries and could be influenced by the Greek-Catholic, pro-Union with Rome agenda. It was seen as the major threat to the Soviet integrity from within and its external political interests, these educational institutions were observed and certainly judged as ideological centers that could retain the Greek-Catholic underground in the Soviet Union and prepare more activists. This is obvious that the NKGB-KGB was envisioning them as potential spies or agents of influence that could destabilize the Soviet integrity from within and shatter its political prestige in the international arena. Even the pre-World War II issues were also in concern.

Question: What is known to You about connections between the Vatican and the bourgeois-nationalist governments of "Ukrainian People's Republic" and so called "Western Ukrainian Republic"? Answer: After the organization in November, 1917 of the Ukrainian government in Galicia, "Western Ukrainian Republic" under the leadership of PETRUSHEVYCH and proclamation by the Ukrainian nationalists of the "United Ukrainian State" in 1918 in Kyiv, Pope Benedict XV was the first before any other state to recognize the governments of the "United Ukrainian State" and "Western Ukrainian Republic" by sending to Ukraine of his representative – Giovanni Genocci. Simultaneously the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic [here probably the "United Ukrainian State", O.K.] sent it's representative, Count Mikhail Tyshkevych to the Vatican.³⁷⁸

Any connection between the Vatican and all sorts of Ukrainian statehood was in the sphere of the NKGB's interest, particularly when it came to diplomatic or material issues. Obviously, this was not very different from the attitude taken by the Czarist government before and during World War I, the Soviet state had inherited this fear of two things; first, the emergence of an independent Ukraine, second, *Catholic influence over the territories*, which Moscow was seeing as its traditional sphere of influence. The fact that everything that was related to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church before 1917 was of crucial importance to the Soviet authorities giving no doubts, almost every third document, which includes interrogation protocols of Josyf Slipyj mentions numerous questions about that older period. In many ways, the Soviet system after World War II began to see itself as the legitimate inheritor of the Czarist past, sort of continuation of its imperial glory, and the UGCC was an old enemy.

Question: Nevertheless, the Vatican did not stop before difficulties and in some way implemented its policy of spreading Catholicism in the Czarist Russia, and later in the USSR.

³⁷⁷ Interrogation protocol of the Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, May 28-29, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 207-214. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 68069-фп.-Т.1.-Арк. 207-214.]*, [translated by me].

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 207-214. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 68069-фп.-Т.1.-Арк. 207-214.]*, [translated by me].

Is it correct? Answer: Yes. I know that the spreading of Catholicism in the former Czarist Russia, and later in the USSR was carried out through so called missionaries - specifically prepared priests, which were sent to the Czarist Russia, and later to the USSR. Approximately in 1910 or 1911 brother of the Saxon king Max, famous practitioner of making the unions [with Rome., O.K.] and a good expert in rituals of the Orthodox Church was directed to Russia with an assignment to make a deal with the authorities about the possibility of Catholic proselytism among Russian people'.³⁷⁹

IX

Soviet Government Interrogates J. Slipyj and his Connection to the Vatican

Some may ask why did Slipyj was actually answering to all these questions, he was obviously not hiding anything when it came to the Vatican's official position in regards to the Soviet Union and Communism, and it seems that he was capable of telling it. Possibly he was well aware that the NKGB knew everything without his answers, they had enough knowledge about the Vatican, its positioning and of course, everything that happened between the Russian government before 1917 and after, Slipyj did not want to hide that the organization under his authority is not going to be on Stalin's side. At least it may be used as an explanation of his foretelling of what the Vatican did to undermine the Soviet regime. On the other side, it can also be assumed that he was pressured, notorious NKVD-NKGB interrogators could deprive people of sleep, beat them, and use any means possible to pull out necessary information from almost anyone. Slipyj in his memoirs clearly pointed out that he was emotionally and physically tortured by the prosecutors, particularly during that time, when the above-extracted protocols could be recorded.³⁸⁰ The NKVD-NKGB-KGB documents³⁸⁰ show the inner kitchen of the investigation system, some interrogation protocols show that answers may differ [possibly after or before some pressure was applied], notifications, operative reports, directives give an unprecedented glimpse on what the official position was and what they knew or wanted to find out. What is clear from all the archival and internal Soviet documentation is that what they were really thinking about their enemies, what methods and tricks were used to suppress the opposition. All the detailed protocols were not part of the official propaganda of course, it was for internal use only, and remained totally hidden until the fall of the USSR. Therefore, everything that is related to the internal reports made by the Soviet secret police is of big curiosity and importance to anyone who wishes to understand the topic. The real question can be asked about those circumstances under which Josyf Slipyj was forced to give out answers. In other words, the nature of questions made by the interrogators is clear, they wanted to know everything that he knows or believes, but his answers could be diverted by the torturous pressure, and he could have said things that he did not really know or did not believe at all

³⁷⁹ Interrogation protocol of the Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, June 13-14, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 231-235. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 68069-фп.-Т.1.-Арк. 231-235.]*, [translated by me].

³⁸⁰ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 157-168.

[especially before Stalin's death, when such figures as Beria, Abakumov or Ignatiev were in charge of the state security system].

X

His Role as the Leader while Being Incarcerated

As it was said previously, Metropolitan's major mission was not to break down because if he was able to resist and stay alive, then the Greek-Catholic Church could be preserved, even after the Council of Lviv. This task would follow him from one labor camp to another, he kept his role of the ambassador almost everywhere, and eventually carried out this work after he left the Soviet Union. He led thousands of people, who decided not to give up loyalty to him and the Pope, and in the late 1940s early 1950s, the strongest opposition was gathering around the monasteries.³⁸¹ Naturally, a monastery is the stronghold against any invader, it can keep secrets, hide other people [as it did save many Jews during the Nazi occupation], and this time they did not act differently, monasteries stood in the middle of the fight for the survival of the UGCC. Major centers of resistance against the Soviet ideology and strong supporters of the Greek-Catholic faith stayed within monasteries all over the Ukraine's West. At the beginning of 1945, in the Stanislaviv region alone there were eleven monastic organizations among which Goshiv Basilian monastery was giving the most worries to local authorities. This monastery took many risks that were dangerous, but because of its clandestine system, it was able to trick the authorities for a certain period. Despite numerous attempts to liquidate the monasteries and deportations of monks for more than four years after the Council of Lviv, still in the early 1950 in Lviv, Stanislaviv, and Transcarpathian regions there were eight Greek-Catholic monasteries, which did not merely carry out liturgies and sent priests for the needs of the local population (primarily villages, etc.). According to historian V. Sergiychuk work in which he cites one of the heads of the Ukrainian Soviet Cabinet P. Vilhovy, these monasteries were becoming the centers of gathering for the hostile elements, which stood against the Soviet power.³⁸² Sometimes it's difficult to fully understand how did they manage to survive for so long while being open for the public, especially after the UGCC became de-legalized. Certainly, the Communist party authorities were getting more determined to close them, and eventually they did, however, it took a lot of time to go after each one. Possibly the best explanation is that the system was afraid to destroy the whole Church in one move, as during the first occupation after 1939. Particularly it was related to monasteries because they could have a lot of significance in the face of common people, many of them were in the rural areas, and possessed centuries-old authority, and were widely respected. Previously it was mentioned that the Goshiv monastery was eventually dissolved and its monks were arrested in 1950 following the decision taken by the Soviet government in Ukraine, particularly after the initiative produced by P.

³⁸¹ Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939-1950)*, (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1996) at pp. 193-195.

³⁸² V. Sergiychuk, *The Unbroken Church. Asceticism of the Greek-Catholics in Ukraine in the Fight for Freedom and Statehood*, [Нескорена церква. Подвижництво греко-католиків України в боротьбі за віру і державу], (Kyiv, Dnipro 2001) at p. 259.

Vilhovy.³⁸³ Technically Greek-Catholic monasteries did not survive until the 1960s, their organization was dismantled before Stalin's death in 1953. There is no doubt that these Church strongholds were using the instruction given by Josyf Slipyj in his pamphlet, they did not have any connection with him after his arrest and were acting independently, relying merely on the authority of local archimandrites. The pamphlet gave necessary directions to all the priests [and of course anyone who was loyal to Rome] of how to survive even in the case of Metropolitan's arrest, they had to rely on their own decisions, and they certainly did it. Josyf Slipyj was not supposed to give direct orders to them, especially while being incarcerated. His mission was to stay alive, and of course not to bend down before the investigators, particularly it may be related to those offers which gave him an opportunity to lead the Kyiv Orthodox exarchate. Slipyj refused to do so, and thus, fulfilled his mission.

XI

Governmental Attempts to Divide J. Slipyj with his Close Circle

Meanwhile, the whole investigation against Slipyj and his close subordinates was aimed at clashing them against each other, it wanted to discredit the Metropolitan in the eyes of his followers. Some supreme hierarchs of the UGCC, who did not accept the Council of Lviv did break down later, when they were pressured by the interrogators. One of them was Bishop Grigoriy Khomyshyn, he was mentioned in the previous chapters as someone who was not very friendly to the previous Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, they had constant arguments over the supremacy of the Latin or Eastern Byzantine traditions in the Church. Khomyshyn did not betray his personal loyalty to the Vatican, he also did not accept the Council which de-legalized the Greek-Catholic Church, but while being imprisoned he began to speak against Josyf Slipyj. Most likely it was caused by the tremendous pressure, and possibly tortures that were inflicted upon him. His interrogation protocols clearly show this, when being question about Slipyj and his anti-Soviet activities Khomyshyn had answered the following:

Slipyj as all of us, representatives of the Greek-Catholic clergy, for certain have actively fulfilled all the orders from the Vatican regarding the spreading and implementation of Catholicism, regarding the destructive work against the USSR and the raising of western Ukrainian population in the spirit of hatred against the Soviet Union. Presenting oneself as the rector of the Theological seminary, later the Academy, Slipyj was raising his listeners in the spirit of necessity in spreading of Catholicism in the whole world, in the spirit of necessity of fighting against the revolutionary movement, for preservation of the bourgeois regimes, in the spirit of hatred toward the Soviet Union and necessity of fighting it.³⁸⁴

Some may seriously think that eventually Khomyshyn was betraying Josyf Slipyj, maybe because the latter was in favor with Andrei Sheptytsky, whom the Bishop did not always

³⁸³ Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939-1950)*, p. 195.

³⁸⁴ Interrogation protocol [stenogram] of Bishop Grigoriy Khomyshyn regarding his relations with Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, July 7, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.2.-pp. 241-248. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 68069-фп.-Т.2.-Арк. 241-248.]*, [translated by me].

understand, or possibly because of being in prison himself, he could just not last through all that terrible pressure, and began to talk against his Metropolitan. This tactic was widely used to weaken the structure of the UGCC and at the same time bring more heat upon Josyf Slipyj. From then on [late 1940s and early 1950s] it became the biggest aim taken by the Communist Party and its secret police, try to use fear upon the laity, *put each hierarch against each other*, and certainly somehow bring the Metropolitan down, either through making him cooperative or simply get rid of him. Slipyj wrote in his memoirs that even though from the first day of interrogations he was told that the authorities ought not to murder him, but over the problems that were staged for him, he believed that was exactly what they have planned, completely destroy his life.³⁸⁵ At some point, he understood that Father Kostelnyk is no longer on his side and that the latter is fully working for the state, it became obvious to Slipyj after a few allusions he found in words made by one of the interrogators.³⁸⁶ In comparison to many other representatives of the Greek-Catholic clergy, there were those who did not betray him under the same circumstances that they have met while being in jail, for example, Bishop Mykyta Budka [the one who was previously sent to Canada by Sheptytsky]. His interrogation protocols do not show anything that could point against Slipyj, merely basic answers regarding the administrative jobs that he and the Metropolitan were carrying out – before both got arrested.

Question: What caused such a necessity on the side of SLIPYJ to be meticulous in choosing the most fitful substitutes for himself? Answer: A few days before deciding on the question in regards to the best candidates for the post of Metropolitan's substitutes, the newspaper "Vilna Ukraina" [Free Ukraine., O.K.] had published an article called "With the Cross and the Knife". In this article the process of the Union [with Rome., O.K.] was explained and the anti-Soviet activities of the Greek-Catholic Church, and particularly, its former Metropolitan Sheptytsky. I do not know the clear content of this article, due to the fact that did not read it before the arrest. In a discussion with me SLIPYJ shortly told me about the emergence of such an article, and then also said that this article is predicting a possibility of arrests of heads of the Greek-Catholic Church and above all himself as the Metropolitan.³⁸⁷

The rest of this interrogation and particularly Budka's answers were looking the same, there were no accusations of Josyf Slipyj in anything that could worsen the latter's legal situation. An article he was referring to was published just before the Council of Lviv and the massive arrests of leaders of the UGCC, it was written by a local publicist Yaroslav Galan, the staunch Communist and anti-Greek-Catholic, who was used against Slipyj during that time.³⁸⁸ That article was aimed at destroying Slipyj's popularity among the population, bring the Union of Brest-Litovsk of 1596 as the tragedy for all Ukrainian people, etc. The original aim of that article did not really work, however, it predicted the future repressions against the UGCC, and the beginning of another page in the history of relations between this organization and the

³⁸⁵ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 165.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-162.

³⁸⁷ Interrogation protocol of Bishop Mykyta Budka in regards to the activity of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, July 24, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.6.-pp. 130-134. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 68069-фп.-Т.6.-Арк. 130-134.]*, [translated by me].

³⁸⁸ Steven Merritt Miner, *Stalin's Holy War: Religion, Nationalism, and Alliance Politics, 1941-1945*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

Soviet state. Bishop Mykyta Budka possibly knew more and was not arrested alongside with others just to be the Metropolitan's advocate but managed to drag each question away from Josyf Slipyj onto some almost neutral topic. At least it's vivid from the interrogation protocol that was found in the archive. Generally speaking, working in the Ukrainian archives today, after the fall of the USSR is the discovery within itself, literally every document that is described here was in the center of that era and that particular investigation, it's almost as if looking at history from the opposite side of the mirror. For example, surely Josyf Slipyj did not clearly know that Grigoriy Khomyshyn was not strong enough and talked against him because he died before any of these archives turned to be public.

XII

UGCC and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church

At that time the whole mission of Josyf Slipyj was to survive, stay alive in prison, and technically merely through this there was a strong possibility for the UGCC to survive. What was arranged for the Russian Orthodox Church, patriotic role within the USSR was not planned for the Greek-Catholic and for the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Churches, it was well understood by Slipyj. The latter Church must also be mentioned because it was equally unacceptable to Stalin.³⁸⁹ Interestingly, the controlled rebirth of the Russian Orthodox Church, which took place during the years of war was directed by Stalin and the highest authorities in the country. Raising of patriotic sentiments among the population, plus practical accumulation of money of the ROC and its believers for the war effort did not prove any hopes of the hierarchs of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and UAOC for the same tolerant attitude toward the national Church in Ukraine. Thus, the mission of the new Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was extremely limited, even worse or better to say quick destruction was waiting for another Church, and it was Orthodox. Governmental actions against the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, practically during the first months after the taking of Ukraine from the Nazis, had quickly dissolved any illusions, even among those who backed the Soviet regime. Nevertheless, the strong influence of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the West of Ukraine, massive support of the anti-Soviet insurgency within the local population against the newly established Communist doctrines, had forced the Soviet government to act against the UGCC more carefully [but not with the same cautiousness as after 1939]. Historian V. Voynalovych noted that due to that, the de-legalization of the UGCC should be seen as part of the Stalinist transformation of western Ukraine.³⁹⁰ Also, a very good characteristic to the situation regarding the attitude of the state toward the Church was given by O. Zamlyns'ka, she noted that during the war, the Church had experienced an upheaval, thus, its growing influence upon the people during the postwar years began to stand on the way of the Soviet ideology. Massive and influential in the annexed, but not absorbed western Ukraine the UGCC

³⁸⁹ ed. Lucian Leustean, *Eastern Christianity and the Cold War, 1945-1991*, an article by Zenon V. Wasyliv, *The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church*, (Routledge, 2010) at pp. 156-166..

³⁹⁰ V. Voynalovych, *Party and State Policy Toward Religion and Religious Institutions in Ukraine in 1940s-1960s: Political Discourse* [Партійно-державна політика щодо релігії та релігійних інституцій в Україні 1940-1960-х років: політологічний дискурс], (Kyiv Svitohliad Publishing, 2005) at p. 741.

was the first one to take the hit of the oppressive system sustained by the Kremlin.³⁹¹ The job of Josyf Slipyj is often seen as diplomatic, despite the fact that he was in jail and later in the numerous labor camps. His position was solidifying some degree of hope that somehow the whole situation is going to change, the attitude on the side of Stalin or Khrushchev might become less difficult or he is going to get free. Eventually, it was the last one, which became possible during Khrushchev, and Josyf Slipyj did turn into almost the real diplomat of Ukraine, and not only of the UGCC, but it will happen much later in the future.

XIII

Slipyj Manages to Handle the State Pressure. Labor Camp Period until 1958.

So far it's interesting to see, how he managed to deal with the state while being incarcerated, what did he tell his interrogators, what letters did he write to the highest authorities of the Soviet Union, and what kind of contacts could he keep with those who were outside of the labor camps or the USSR itself. Definitely, to retain even the slightest contacts outside of jails in the Soviet Union, especially if a person, who was as famous as Josyf Slipyj was, could still be extremely complicated. When he was outside of labor camps, in exiles, or somewhere in the middle of two jails, these contacts could take place, however, most of them were seriously controlled by the NKGB-KGB agents and many of his contacts were reported.³⁹² Generally saying almost everything that was carried out by Slipyj before he was moved out from the USSR was under surveillance, and currently, most of those materials that were gathered by the secret police can be found in the archives. His immediate contacts were managed in the same way and manner he was controlled, criminal cases were opened against people who dealt with the preservation of the underground UGCC in western Ukraine, and all attempts to create Catholic organizations [de facto illegal according to the Soviet laws] were suppressed. One of the documents which were produced by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and KGB in 1958 directly points out at Slipyj's activity and his tasks in keeping the Greek-Catholic Church alive.

Lately received intelligence-investigative materials witness the fact that the hostile activity of Uniates took obviously organized characteristics. Data about an existence of the secret religious-political organization "Association of the Holy Unity", which aims at ripping off Ukraine from the Soviet Union and at the creation of the "Kyiv-Christian Church" under the Vatican was obtained. Management of the anti-Soviet activity of the Uniates is headed by currently exiled Metropolitan of the former Greek-Catholic Church Slipyj and returned from labour camps and exiles famous Uniates Charnetsky, Boychuk and others.³⁹³

³⁹¹ O.V. Zamlyns'ka, *The Church and Culture in Ukraine during the First Post War Years: Religious Tradition in the Spiritual Rebirth of Ukraine - Materials of the Scientific Conference*, (Poltava, 1992) at pp. 149-150.

³⁹² From the operative report to the KGB office in Yeniseysk regarding work with Josyf Slipyj, March 5, 1955. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.3.-pp. 27-30. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.3.-Арк. 27-30.]*

³⁹³ Prescript of the head of the Committee of State Security (KGB) under the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine V. Nikitchenko about winding the operative case called "Riffs" by the western Ukrainian regional KGB branches against Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj's contacts, January 25, 1958. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.1, part 1.-pp. 17-19. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.1, частина 1.-Арк. 17-19.]*, [translated by me].

If these organizations did really exist or tried to surface in one way or another, so the KGB began to wind up cases and started to worry, then it points out the fact that Josyf Slipyj did not stay aside even when he was far away from Ukraine. Technically he was someone, who would not really stay out of doing something against the Soviet system if there was a chance to do it, it was part of his true character, plus he always knew that his mission was not over after his arrest or the Council of Lviv. Slipyj understood the ecclesiastical illegality of that Council and knew that the UGCC still existed, he was its Metropolitan and in his hands was the button of resistance, if he pushed it then there was a chance of survival. The idea of creating the “Kyiv-Christian Church” under the patronage of the Vatican was revolving during the previous Metropolitan and it was mentioned in the previous chapters. Andrei Sheptytsky was trying to reach Kyiv during the German occupation, and somehow unite the Church under his authority, for example, traditionally Roman Catholic Church Cathedral in Kyiv, Ecclesia St. Alexandri in Kyiv was transformed into the Greek-Catholic parish.³⁹⁴ On the other hand, there was no doubt that the Vatican knew about the suppression of its largest Eastern Catholic branch, and tried to give political or organizational assistance without which the UGCC would not survive. The mere fact that Josyf Slipyj was eventually freed and could leave the Soviet Union speaks for this, and also there was a strong UGCC in diaspora, which is going to be discussed later in the work. Metropolitan’s family was constantly under control too, in 1956 distanced relative Olga Slipa [Slipyj] came back from the labor camps to Ternopil’ region where she was born, KGB was immediately reporting on who she was in regards to Josyf Slipyj, what kind of contacts did they have or plan to have, etc.³⁹⁵ They certainly could obtain any information due to total control over the citizens, and Metropolitan’s contacts, especially if it was in one way or another dealing with his relatives, people whom he could surely trust, were not missing from the eye of special protocols and reports. When he was living in Siberian exiles [between one jail term and another, which were coming in waves; it will be discussed in this chapter with more attention too] he was under the most scrupulous attention because that was the right time for him to actually make some activity. KGB [from 1954 and on, this organization was carrying this particular abbreviation] was choosing agents and informers that were supposed to find contacts with him in order to halt his connections with the Greek-Catholic Church in the Soviet Union and abroad. One of the KGB reports directly points out their internal fears of Slipyj and his capabilities.

Selection of candidates, recruitment, and organization of occasions to move such agents to Slipyj, which could be sent through him into the Uniate underground and the Vatican. 2.
Uncovering of the illegal Uniate and hostile activity of Slipyj, preventing his influence on the

³⁹⁴ Karel Cornelis Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine Under Nazi Rule*, (Harvard University Press, 2004) at p. 246.

³⁹⁵ Enquiry made by the head of the Sixth Division of the Fourth Department of KGB under the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine V. Sukhonin to the head of the Fourth Division of the Ternopil’ regional KGB Leshchenko regarding Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj’s relative - Pan’kiv-Slipa [Slipyj], May 3, 1956. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.1, part 4.-p. 115. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. С-9113.-Т.1, частина 4.-Арк. 115.]*

recovering remnants of the Uniate and nationalist underground. 3. Detection and notching of Slipyj's rapport channels with the Uniates in Ukraine and abroad.³⁹⁶

Over and over again the system was really interested in his connections with the West, their major goal it seems was based on his abilities to find the right people inside the country and in the Vatican, who could assist him. KGB sought for more information about the militant movement [an old and ongoing problem for the Soviet government], which in 1956 was still active, and surely clandestine methods through which the secret police could enter the doors of the Vatican. It was one of the major goals, to see the contact between Slipyj and his emissaries in Ukraine and abroad, plus use these connections to send more agents to Rome. This conclusion logically comes out from the reported document cited above, and there are way more of them. When the Metropolitan was in between incarcerations, the system wanted to use and halt his connections, when he was in jails, then interrogators were directly asking him about these connections, and just in case, if he was not against cooperation with authorities. This was a traditional pattern developed by the KGB and each investigator or the responsive figure constantly used it against Josyf Slipyj [as much as against any political prisoner or dissident]. Mail correspondence was nearly impossible, clandestine methods were often uncovered and checkmated, yet another KGB document shows how it was attempting to limit Slipyj's talk to the outside world.

Correspondence with the unwished content, outgoing from SLIPYJ as much as incoming to his address was withdrawn by us. Besides this SLIPYJ was warned about the fact that he is officially not registered in any Soviet institutions as Metropolitan, and because of this has no right to address Catholic believers with his religious epistles. After that he stopped sending out his pastoral letters and significantly limited correspondence. Nevertheless, while understanding that not all of his letters reach the addressees, lately he began to search for and use such occasions when Ukrainians leave Yeniseysk region for Ukraine and Far East for resending his correspondence with them.³⁹⁷

Many Ukrainians and Greek-Catholics lived in the Far Eastern parts of the USSR in exiles, and Metropolitan was at that time in central Siberia, thus, was sending his letters to any destination where his pastoral assistance could be necessary. No question that the authorities did not recognize him as an official religious figure after the Council of Lviv, however, regardless of what was taking place in the minds of the Soviet legislators, still Josyf Slipyj was recognized by the rest of the Catholic Church, the UGCC was active and this Council was not recognizable, except for the Communist side.

³⁹⁶ From the reportive note of the head of the Krasnoyarsk regional KGB O. Voronin to the head of the Fourth Department of the KGB under the Soviet Cabinet of Ministers F. Kharitonov regarding the conduction of operations in working with Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, September 10, 1956. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 2.-pp. 242-257. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.2. -Арк. 242-257.]*, [translated by me].

³⁹⁷ From the note by chief of the Fourth Division of the Krasnoyarsk regional KGB V. Antonov regarding the operative case of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, January 24, 1958. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 1, part 1.-pp. 242-257. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.1, частина 1. -Арк. 242-257.]*, [translated by me].

XIV

The Governmental Surveillance of J. Slipyj

Therefore, no matter what was thought through, the system was tremendously afraid of Slipyj, his political and ecclesiastical influence. Once again, any message or pastoral letter that could reach the believers or even those who just simply did not believe in the Soviet Union's official ideology, and saw the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan as a figure of resistance, then there could be the upheaval of hopes that were so dangerous to the Soviet authority.³⁹⁸ His writings about the Church history [not only the UGCC] were of special attention, possibly because it was spreading more light on the ecclesiastic issues of that time. Most of his writings were confiscated and never reached the reader, so that is difficult to judge what was incorporated into the text. Some pieces did survive though, for example, additional material about the Council of Lviv, and after reading it everything becomes more clear, why did Soviet authorities hunted Slipyj's works on history.³⁹⁹ In that survived work he clearly points out at the violent solution through which the UGCC was dissolved, if these thoughts could reach people in Ukraine and diaspora in other countries, the legitimacy of that dissolution could be put under the question. It was not recognized by the Catholic side anyway, but more writing about the oppressive methods used during the Council, especially written by the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan was magnifying the level of dishonesty used by the Soviets. Interestingly, most of his essays on the contemporary history of the Council of Lviv that may be retrieved today were written by Slipyj directly to one of the investigators, M. Kuptsov, who was controlling his case by the late 1950s early 1960s.⁴⁰⁰ In one of the essays called *The Abstract about Lviv "Council" of 1946*, Slipyj is explaining the whole history of Christian Councils since 51 AD and tries to describe the fact that what took place in Lviv was illegitimate from the ecclesiastical point of view [Catholic].

The gathering in Lviv or as it was called by the Romanian Patriarch, rat race, cannot make responsible even its participants because this is apostasy, and by itself it cannot make anyone responsible. Regarding other priests and believers, there is nothing to talk about [they were even less responsible for the Council., O.K.]. Besides that, they did not have all the necessary freedom. Recalled star-crossed apostate (Kostelnyk) had publicly talked that those who will resist the so called "reunification" will be arrested on the spot, on the ground of Molotov's order.⁴⁰¹

There are no doubts that if such words could be heard by the ordinary people, the real fact that the Council of Lviv was organized under the gun barrel, and any representative at the gathering could be immediately imprisoned for not supporting the liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church, then it could create more belief in the Josyf Slipyj's mission. According to

³⁹⁸ Interrogation protocol of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj in regards to his contacts with different people, September 1, 1958. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. S-67829-fp.-Vol. 4.-pp. 318-322. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. С-67829-фп.-Т.4. -Арк.318-322*

³⁹⁹ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 438.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 433-437.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 435. [translated by me].

the KGB it had to be isolated along with Slipyj and his contacts without any chance to see the light due to its extremely anti-Soviet content. At the same time, when Slipyj wrote such letters or abstracts to his prosecutors, he also carried the mission of a diplomat, he witnessed the existence of his ecclesiastical organization before everyone. It's known that he was arrested before the Council, many of his bishops were taken out too, there was no representation from the Vatican, therefore, how that meeting could be legitimate in the eyes of any ecclesiastic body around the world? This was the major point behind Josyf Slipyj's writings to his prosecutors, clandestine correspondence with believers and priests, Catholics [of both Rites] abroad etc. There is no question about the fact that the Communist party leadership and KGB knew his position and the main plan of action, he was witnessing his own survival [and then the survival of the UGCC], solidified believers, connected them with the Vatican, and moreover, spread pastoral letters [even from the exiles], which pointed out the illegitimacy of the Council of Lviv. That is why nearly any KGB operative report talks about his connections, the possibility of inserting agents that will reach as far as the Vatican, control over believers, who could attain Slipyj's correspondence.⁴⁰² Additionally, his diplomatic role was getting more important with the rise of his popularity at home and abroad. Rumors and other kinds of talks that there is a Metropolitan, head of the largest Eastern Catholic Church is currently under pressure, and that he may not survive the jail time in the USSR began to air in the world. Curia was supposed to get involved, in one way or another, particularly because it was putting the Vatican's authority under question. If it was not able to free such a figure, then what it could do? Metropolitan's authority was yet getting more popular through his personal struggle with the Soviet system, it was unbelievably difficult, but raised him to the status of Andrei Sheptytsky, his teacher and mentor. To some extent, it may be said that the UGCC during that time was copying the way of the early Christians, who were suffering to become much stronger later on, and that any persecution was elevating the whole organization.⁴⁰³ The Soviet authorities were not really understanding this issue, at least before when they have decided to free Josyf Slipyj [not to give the UGCC another martyr] and send him to visit the Second Vatican Council. However, so far he was in Siberia, in jails or exiles under total surveillance and suppression. The Church was then beginning to avoid the direct confrontation with the state and turned more into the hidden tricks of clandestine survival. Possibly it may be surprising to find out that when Josyf Slipyj was talking to his contacts [who were also working for the KGB], he never hid his political, theological, or social views, possibly because he trusted them, or merely out of the lack of any fear before his prosecutors. Numerous conversations were meticulously gathered by local officers, documented, and sent to the central office in Moscow, and right now a good portion of them is available to any reader. Various agents reported the fact that the 'Uniates' are getting more careful, they try to avoid martyrdom and wish to keep contact with Slipyj, who was in Siberia [mid-1950s].

⁴⁰² Directive to add the material evidence confiscated from Illiya Blavatsky into the case of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine*.-F.6.-Case. S-67829-fp.-Vol. 9.-pp. 16, 17. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. С-67829-фп.-Т.9. -Арк.16, 17.

⁴⁰³ Vlad Naumescu, *Modes of Religiosity in Eastern Christianity: Religious Processes and Social Change in Ukraine*, (LIT Verlag Münster, 2007) at p. 110.

Further MARGYTYCH [Josyf Slipyj's contact., O.K.] has warned [...] about being careful. Following his words, Uniates have suffered many losses, and results were not very good. He recommended to use fake addresses in mail conversations in order to escape suspicions, not to include back addresses, and not to identify last names of senders, textual words must be changed so the security services will not understand anything. He thinks: "Currently the roots should be put deep under the earth instead of the surface", thus, according to his opinion will give the right results at the right moment.⁴⁰⁴

This short extract shows some activity on the side of loyal Greek-Catholics, which was traced by the KGB agent; it was later compiled into the document and sent to Moscow by the Krasnoyarsk local state security office. The above mentioned Mychaylo Margytych [a monk from Zakarpattia-Transcarpathia] was Josyf Slipyj's contact in the region, and transferred information between him and Ukraine, obviously because now it all can be read in the formerly hidden archives, this contact was uncovered. However, it may show the strategy taken by the Metropolitan and his loyal friends in the UGCC, which refused to give up its ecclesiastical identity. In many ways, it answers the question about methods that were outlined by Slipyj in the previously mentioned brochure [written before his arrest]. The Church was getting more and more deeply into the clandestine survivalism, especially after the last spots of resistance in the face of monasteries were finished off by the early 1950s. Beginning with that period everything revolves around contacts, agents, secret letters, recommendations, and other forms of existence in the totalitarian state for the illegal organization. Here the archival materials gain additional importance because as nothing else they can discover the role of the Metropolitan within the clandestine Greek-Catholic Church of Ukraine.

XV

J. Slipyj and His Close Circle during the 1950s

The biggest obstacle which stood before Josyf Slipyj was the fact that his Church was delegitimized through the Council, it was not accepted by the larger portion of the clergy, the Vatican, and most of the laity, however, it happened not merely through arrests. The Soviet authorities used legitimate ways to suppress, or at least attempted to do so, and the Council of 1946 was one of such methods, it literally tried to derail Metropolitan and his loyal. After this event his pastoral mission was based on the resistance to this particular legacy of the Council, he had to convince believers in just the opposite, that he did not accept the decision, UGCC in diaspora continues to carry on, and everything was done under pressure, so it simply could not be legitimate. The same document already cited above shows that the avoidance to accept the legitimacy of the Council of Lviv was the major task on the side of Slipyj, the Vatican, and those who survived in or out of the labor camps.

⁴⁰⁴ Operative note made by the chief of the Krasnoyarsk Regional KGB O. Voronin to the First Substitute of the KGB Chairman K. Lunyov regarding the case of the Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 2.-pp. 204-215. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.2. -Арх. 204-215.], [translated by me].*

On the second day the TERBAN'S house was visited by MARGYTYCH. About the detailed questions about SLIPYJ, MARGYTYCH asked to hand off him that "the laity and people" have divided into three groups, one was arrested, the other went on the side of Communists, and third "with the God's blessing" still works. Further on he asked to tell SLIPYJ about the death of an illegal monk OROS, about circumstances of the death of Bishop ROMZHA, about Bishop BUCHKO, which was elevated to a Cardinal for the Canadian "brothers" by the Pope Pius, about Bishop Lyatyshevsky, which supposedly should return from the camps to Zakarpattya and told other intelligence that according to MARGYTYCH'S opinion must be interesting to SLIPYJ.⁴⁰⁵

This note written by KGB is certainly pointing out at the Vatican's attempts to connect the UGCC in Ukraine where it was officially illegal with its Canadian laity by another prominent personality, Bishop Ivan Buchko. Technically, in Canada or anywhere else in the world the UGCC was not accepting the Council of Lviv's decision, the Church was continually active and merely this appointment had to openly deny the Council itself. The only inaccurate detail in the report was that he was not pointed to the Cardinal's position, but to the Titular Archbishop in 1953.⁴⁰⁶ Buchko was literally the biggest figure of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church abroad, and before the arrival of Josyf Slipyj to Rome, he was taking care of almost every aspect of this organization's life. He represented the Metropolitanate, was one of the closest hierarchs not only to Slipyj, but the previous Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, and therefore, had a lot of authority in the Curia. He is famous for defending the Ukrainian political immigrants in post-World War II Europe, and possibly was the most influential contributor to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic cause after Josyf Slipyj. Mykhaylo Margytych was the brother of Ivan Margytych, the future Bishop, who had survived the period of prosecutions, thus, he was well informed about the situation in Ukraine and abroad, wrote letters to Slipyj when the latter was in Siberia, and gave a lot of assistance to the Church's clandestine organization.⁴⁰⁷ Generally speaking there was an attempt to connect Josyf Slipyj in exile, and the Church structure in Ukraine [or anywhere in the USSR] and in diaspora, it could enhance the process of struggle, and of course, bring Metropolitan above the decision taken by the Council of Lviv. It was very important to overcome the 'illegal legacy' of that event, and if it was done, then the UGCC had a chance to survive, first in emigration and later reinvent itself in Ukraine. Many works of contemporary researchers bring the light onto well detailed and legally formulated plan set up by the Soviet authorities with the help of this Council that aimed at the liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church over its unwillingness not merely to obey the state system as it happened with the Russian Orthodox Church, but for being under the Vatican's jurisdiction, which stood against the Communist ideology and state policies of the USSR. As the former UGCC Metropolitan-Emeritus Lyubomyr Guzar said:

⁴⁰⁵ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 2.-pp. 204-215. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.2. -Арк. 204-215.], [translated by me].*

⁴⁰⁶ For more accurate information on Ivan Buchko, see Myroslav Marusyn, *The Archbishop of Wanderers. Archbishop Ivan Buchko*, [Архипастир скитальців. Архиепископ Іван Бучко], (Lviv, 2008).

⁴⁰⁷ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 2.-pp. 204-215. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.2. -Арк. 204-215.]*

Scenario that was used to liquidate the Church, almost religious in its form, simple to understand by the believers was done through the Council. After all at the Councils the life of the Church is decided. By these means people's eyes were deceived, the clergy of this Church told them that it denies its contemporary identity and want to go for the other. From the outside such a move appeared to be as the legal action for many people.⁴⁰⁸

Since all of these developments took place in the UGCC, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj had to prove the Council's illegitimacy, and people which tried to reach him in Siberia, or defended the Church's position abroad as Archbishop Buchko did, all gave that necessary assistance. Therefore, here is the reason why KGB was so willing to capture them, disconnect Metropolitan's correspondence and find more ways to keep him incarcerated for as long as possible. Eventually his first, second, and third terms in prison were divided by short periods in Siberian exiles [primarily Krasnoyarsk region, investigatory incarcerations in Kyiv etc.] throughout the 1950s, and were well documented by the secret police [including his direct or indirect contacts].⁴⁰⁹ The system simply could not allow him to stay close to the Catholic world so to speak, and it found many pathways to do it. Former KGB archives show that constant surveillance, infiltration into the life of his contacts, and his own life provided them a lot of material, which always gave the ground for another case against him. In 1958 Josyf Slipyj wrote the significant pastoral letter to anyone who at that time could retrieve it, and sent it with a priest Didyk [that is how he was called in one of the archival documents], who was arrested by KGB with a copy of the message. It clearly seems that after that letter KGB decided to start the third criminal/political case against Slipyj because according to them it was obviously showing the rising activity of the Metropolitan, and his loyal part of the laity. His message was particularly directed to those priests, who were not strong enough and began to break down, that part of the clergy which decided to cooperate with the ROC and the Soviet regime. It was an open call to their hidden strengths and conscience. He gave a lot of examples from the Church history when the pressure against Christians did not break them, but only made the early Church stronger, it openly showed the deep level of theological knowledge and determination on the side of Josyf Slipyj.

All the tragedy lays in the fact that those who cause trouble, loudly convinced everyone that they are "saving the Church", but in reality destroyed it, as it was done before during the Czarist time by similar conspirators... In history of the Catholic Church such performances did take place more than once, facts were twisted, explained and highlighted, but later denied and laughed at in a thorough antagonism and irritation, however, it all disappeared as a foam on the water current.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁸ D. Krykun, *His Beatitude Lyubomyr Guzar: Lobbying for the Church is a Humiliation for the Church*, newspaper interview, [Любіювання на користь церкви є приниженням для церкви], (Dzerkalo Tyzhnia, 2006, March 4-10), [translated by me].

⁴⁰⁹ From the report made by the head of the Fourth Division of the Krasnoyarsk Regional KGB V. Antonov regarding the case of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 1, part 1.-pp. 30-35. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.1, частина 1. -Арк. 204-215.]*

⁴¹⁰ From the operative note of the Fourth Division of the Stanislaviv Regional KGB regarding Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj's pastoral letter, "To the Lost Priests, Peace in Christ", May 19, 1958. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 6.-pp. 296-303. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.6. -Арк. 296-303.]*, [translated by me].

He mentioned those days when the Russian imperial government was haunting the Greek-Catholic Church in Russia and between 1914-1915 during the occupation of Galicia. To him it was clear that history repeats itself and there is no need to see something new, the Catholic Church was born in sufferings at the Roman Colosseum, was fighting inner troubles with schisms, but survived and there was no trace left of its pursuers. Particularly, Metropolitan directed this message to the Greek-Catholic clergy, which stopped resisting, wanted to cooperate, and forgot about Rome. Laity was not the main target of this letter, but if it heard Slipyj's words, it would certainly understand them and accept his call for unity, resistance, and loyalty to the Vatican. The fact that the message was directed to those who were well educated in theology may be proved by many citations from the Bible. Slipyj was bringing in passages that portray the uncertainty of weakness and disbelief, that those who broke down or mingled with the oppressors always lost.

Above their graves St. Apostle Jude said the bitter farewell of condemnation. "These are blemishes on your love-feasts, while they feast with you without fear, feeding themselves. They are waterless clouds carried along by the winds; autumn trees without fruit, twice dead, uprooted; wild waves of the sea, casting up the foam of their own shame; wandering stars, for whom the deepest darkness has been reserved for ever".⁴¹¹

These strong words from the Holy Scripture were aiming at the 'shepherd', who may consolidate the Greek-Catholic Church under his authority, and not collaborate with the Soviet system. It was especially important to Josyf Slipyj because he could expect that even if the laity in western Ukraine was always very loyal to the UGCC, still after the Council of Lviv and the lack of ecclesiastical structure the organization could perish. It happened before in Volhynia [and some other parts of Ukraine] when Czar Nicholas I decided to subordinate all Greek-Catholics under the authority of the Russian Orthodox Synod [1830s], thus, it survived only in the Austro-Hungarian territories.⁴¹² Priests and monks were crucial to the whole structure of the Church, therefore, the Metropolitan called for their strengths, told them of their responsibilities before the people. Today it's known that all these struggles were on the winner's side, but back then nobody could certainly tell if the UGCC would survive on the Soviet lands. Josyf Slipyj himself could be murdered at any minute, perish in exiles, or never set himself free. The new case against him in 1958 and another one in 1962 [the last one did not last for too long and was a continuation of the second prison term] were probably meant to completely destroy him. The above-cited pastoral letter was most likely the last drop, which caused yet another jail sentence. In 1958 KGB and the Communist party authorities still did not decide what to do with him, send Slipyj to the West, so he would not cause any trouble for them in the USSR, or destroy. Then they chose to incarcerate him and see what may happen next.

⁴¹¹ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 6.-pp. 296-303. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.6. -Арк. 296-303.]*, [translated by me].

⁴¹² Paul R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, (University of Toronto Press, 2010) at pp. 697-698.

While considering himself the Metropolitan of the self-dissolved Uniate Church in 1946 and being an ideological mastermind of the reaction, had intentions to recreate it in the USSR. With this aim established contacts with uniates living in Ukraine and in the regions of special location, wrote and spread his messages among them in which he preached anti-scientific, reactionary views and ideas of recreation of the Uniate Church. In 1954-1958 wrote and distributed among uniates manuscripts of bourgeois, anti-Soviet trend such as “The History of the Universal Church in Ukraine” and “Dogmatic and Historical Basics of the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine”.⁴¹³

This was the expected ground for his another arrest and jail term. KGB could not let him stay out of their control because even though most of his contacts were under the cap, still he was able to avoid many obstacles and reach his followers. On the other hand, those who came close enough to him also were able to escape the surveillance and move along the line that was directed by Slipyj. Every following interrogation was surrounded by the same list of questions that were asked since 1946, KGB wanted to find out everything about his intentions, contacts, connection to the Vatican or Ukrainian nationalists. On August 2, 1958, investigators spent the whole questionnaire on his pastoral letter to the converted priests [mentioned above], it certainly could not slip away from the system’s attention because of its direct calls for resistance. His major answer [seems to sum up his position through the whole investigation process] to what was the aim of that letter is now available in one of the archived documents:

Of course I am appealing to the believers and clergy of the Greek-Catholic Church, when according to a decision of the Council of Lviv in 1946 the Uniate Church in the USSR ceased to exist. However, I am part of the clergy and Greek-Catholic believers which is not accepting the decision taken during that Council and, therefore, consider that the Church did not cease to exist in the USSR, thus, there is Metropolitan, priests and Greek-Catholic believers.⁴¹⁴

It gives his general position on the matter, and clearly underlines his mission as the Metropolitan of the UGCC that was discussed in the previous paragraphs. He was supposed to give the legal ground for his suppressed Church, witness its existence and definitely unite the believers and clergy, which stayed loyal to the Vatican. Those who started to trust the Council would never fully accept the Orthodox conversion if their Metropolitan did not follow their steps, and literally that is why the Soviet authorities could not allow him to stay free; at least until the pressure from the West began to escalate.

⁴¹³ Warrant for the second arrest of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, June 18, 1958. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 67829-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 39,40.* [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Сп. 67829-фп.-Т.1.-Арк. 39,40.], [translated by me].

⁴¹⁴ Interrogation protocol of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj regarding his pastoral letter to those priests, who converted into Orthodoxy, August 2, 1958. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 67829-fp.-Vol.4.-pp. 219-229.* [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Сп. 67829-фп.-Т.4.-Арк. 219-229.], [translated by me].

XVI

Late 1950s and the Release of J. Slipyj

The second portion of this chapter is about to discuss his release from the Soviet jail and eventual mission abroad [his yet another prison sentence that Josyf Slipyj had received in 1962 will also be briefly discussed]. To summarize Metropolitan's eighteen years of constant prosecutions it should be said that he managed to survive and travel the role that was given to him by Andrei Sheptytsky. The UGCC did legally overcome the Lviv Council of 1946 and learned how to live in the underground, this would never happen if he signed up under the Council's decision to dissolve the UGCC, or accepted an offer to lead the Kyiv Orthodox exarchate. The late 1950s and early 1960s was the time when the Soviet regime began to get tired of keeping him inside the country, it's somehow possible to see that Khrushchev did not want to turn him into a real martyr before the rest of the world. After all, his reign was somewhat associated with liberalism, especially in comparison with Stalinism. In 1961/62 the Supreme Court of the USSR (jointly with the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Kyiv) decided to proclaim him to be totally dangerous for the regime, and chose to prolong his sentence in Siberian labor camps because starting with 1958 Slipyj was only jailed in a regular prison.⁴¹⁵ It was the final measure that would soon end with another decision. It seemed that Khrushchev began to think about his liberal agenda abroad, or better to say the good image, which he wanted to create in the West; it was already done by sending some representatives/observers from the Russian Orthodox Church to the Second Vatican Council.⁴¹⁶ The beginning of this influential Council in Rome was a good reason to free Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and send him there, merely to show good intentions of the Soviet Union in the eyes of the global Catholic Church. The beginning of this influential Council in Rome was a good reason to free Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and send him there, merely to show good intentions of the Soviet Union in the eyes of the global Catholic Church, it was certainly tied to diplomacy.⁴¹⁷

Nevertheless, something was really happening after the death of Stalin in relations between the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine and the Soviet state. When in May 1963 the Ukrainian regional KGB (certainly after the higher decision was made in Moscow) decided to archive Josyf Slipyj's case, it also included eight more clerical representatives of the UGCC, who were Metropolitan's close associates.⁴¹⁸ Khrushchev's move did not legalize the Greek-Catholic Church, or it did not try to pacify with the Vatican, but definitely halted the usage of Stalin's methodology in trying to physically wipe out all the enemies in jails or labor camps. It

⁴¹⁵ Decision (verdict) taken by the Collegium of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on the case of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 67829-fp.-Vol.10.-pp. 503,504. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 67829-фп.-Т.10.-Арк. 503-504.]*

⁴¹⁶ Roberto De Mattei, *The Crusader of the 20th Century: Plinio Correa de Oliveira*, (Gracewing Publishing, 1998) at p. 198.

⁴¹⁷ Karim Schelkens, *Vatican Diplomacy After the Cuban Missile Crisis: New Light on the Release of Josyf Slipyj*, (Catholic Historical Review #98, 2011) at pp. 679-712.

⁴¹⁸ Resolution of the Second Department of the KGB-Ukrainian SSR regarding the end of the operative case "Riffs" against Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and others, May 3, 1963. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 1, part 1.-pp. 335-337. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.1, частина 1. -Арк. 335-337.]*

seems that the Soviet authorities have realized that another martyr of the same stature would only damage their reputation, plus Josyf Slipyj was too influential in the underground Church, even if he was totally isolated from Ukraine in Siberian prisons or exiles. In one way or another, the release of Josyf Slipyj in 1963 may be somehow connected to the aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis, and Khrushchev's wishes to stabilize his relations with the West. At the same time the Roman Catholic President of the United States John F. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev both could be influenced by an article written by a journalist Norman Cousins against the nuclear war and for peace in the world, and the speech produced by Felix Morlion (Belgian Dominican) and Pope John XXIII - was published in *The New York Times* and infamous Soviet newspaper *Pravda*.⁴¹⁹ At the same time, Khrushchev's son-in-law Adzhubei met with Pope in 1963 at his residence in Rome while facing some skeptical attitudes from the Italian cardinals, however, soon after Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was freed and sent to Italy.⁴²⁰ There is no question about the fact that it was a purely diplomatic move based on decisions made in the Kremlin after the Cuban Missile Crisis, or actually under the influence of the need for peace. Historian Desmond O'Grady recalled some strong memories of a Cardinal, who was meeting Josyf Slipyj in Moscow in 1963.

Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, who went to Moscow to accompany Slipyj to Rome, has recounted their meeting in a corridor on the sixth-floor of the Modeva Hotel. "Are you Metropolitan Slipyj?" Willebrands asked the powerful-built, bearded ex-prisoner. "I've been waiting for you for eighteen years", responded Slipyj. Willebrands found him "full of energy".⁴²¹

The last remark is quite peculiar because after reading and learning about everything that happened to Slipyj during those eighteen years, it may be the sign of his true strength, and the reason why he managed to survive.

XVII

The Growing Role of the Vatican in J. Slipyj's Release

Certainly, it was a breakthrough for the UGCC, now it was not forgotten by the Vatican and the world's opinion. However, it did not make its position in the USSR more convenient, it was still illegal and prosecuted, those priests and ordinary believers, who were left behind the Iron Curtain had to hide their faith, and could not manifest it. Starting with 1963 Josyf Slipyj's mission was rapidly changing, he had to solidify and defend the rights and autonomy of his Church in Rome itself, and at the same time do everything to support those who remained loyal to the Greek-Catholic tradition in the Soviet Union.⁴²² His diplomatic mission was getting truly

⁴¹⁹ Karim Schelkens, John A. Dick, Jürgen Mettepenningen, *Aggiornamento?: Catholicism from Gregory XVI to Benedict XVI*, (BRILL, 2013) at p. 128.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁴²¹ Desmond O'Grady, *The Turned Card: Christianity Before and After the Wall*, (Gracewing Publishing, 1995) at p. 102.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

serious, and now he was representing Ukraine not only as the Metropolitan of the UGCC, a minority Church in there, but as de facto ambassador. Now his status was very similar to one possessed by Andrei Sheptytsky before and after World War I. Slipyj's task was aiming at unifying Ukrainian diaspora all over the world, both Orthodox and Catholic, use its influence and turn it into one political and cultural voice. This task could not be accomplished without his knowledge of the Vatican, connections in there, and Metropolitan's ability to lobby UGCC interests - all these notions were possessed by him. Way back in the 1920s and 1930s he was traveling around Europe, studied there, and assisted Andrei Sheptytsky in the same tasks he was involved in after being released a few decades later. Previous Metropolitan gave him a lot of lessons on how to represent their country, the Church, and their interests abroad, and not merely the matters of diaspora. To be clearer, both knew how to represent and defend their country and the Greek-Catholic Church at the same time, when they talked to presidents, prime ministers, or the Pope. It was another page in Josyf Slipyj's life, which is non less important than the previous one, when he was supposed to physically survive. His diplomatic mission during those terrible eighteen years of exiles and incarcerations did not stop until the last days before being sent to Rome and continued there almost right away. Slipyj somehow wanted to connect his freedom with the UGCC itself, and even hoped that after his release the whole organization may get legalized.

Minister [Internal Affairs of Mordoviya, O.K.,] had asked me whether I am satisfied that the release was done by the highest authority of the Soviet Union. On this I have replied with the question: "Does the authority of that act made me paroled, is it the fact that this act criss-crossed all the previous cases, or I am merely released as was told me in Moscow in 1953?" Minister replied to this that in the act it said only about the release. Then I gave him another question "Is my discharge means the return of freedom to the Greek-Catholic Church, as it was decided in Moscow?" On this he said that "about that case you may talk in Moscow, the place where you head to".⁴²³

Probably it was one of the last times when he tried to defend the Greek-Catholic Church while still being in the USSR, he cared about its re-legalization, and the annulment of the Council of Lviv decision produced in 1946. As his own words show, Josyf Slipyj did carry out some talks with the Soviet authorities before his release, he clearly mentioned in the last question to the Minister of Internal Affairs of Mordovskaya Autonomous Republic. He did not give up these attempts, and clearly wanted to restore the Church's legality without giving up hopes for that, however, as now history shows, he was only released as another Soviet dissident, nothing more. He was trying to negotiate (on his terms that would restore the UGCC) were carried out since 1946, even though the use of political relations between the USSR and many western countries such as post-war Germany and Italy. In one of the documents-letters to the General Prosecutor Roman Rudenko, Slipyj defends the cause of his Church in the context of that day's international situation and the Soviet foreign policy.⁴²⁴ Josyf Slipyj had to transfer all these activities to the Vatican right now, and certainly after what was done to him since he

⁴²³ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 227. [translated by me].

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, additional applications: documents about negotiations of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj with the Soviet authority, p. 390.

became the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan, made this man incredibly experienced and insisting. Fighting with the Soviet bureaucratic and authoritative machine was possibly the most difficult task for anyone, who had responsibilities before such an organization as the Church. Further discussion will mention diplomatic-ecclesiastic relations between Josyf Slipyj and the Pope, particular attention will be paid to the Metropolitan's mission at the Second Vatican Council.⁴²⁵ At that time he began to push through his and Andrei Sheptytsky's idea of the Patriarchate, which should be granted to the largest Eastern Catholic Church. Technically it would be the most sensitive part of his diplomacy at the Vatican, and as it's known today, the most complicated one. Before this discussion begins it should be understood that the title of Patriarch, even if he would be subordinate to Pope, still may give a lot of autonomy, which is (or will be) way more extended to the limits that no Greek-Catholic Church in the world had acquired in the past.⁴²⁶

XVIII

Release and the Second Vatican Council. Patriarchal Status

After arriving in Rome Josyf Slipyj took a few days to rest, and soon began to get back to work with the same vigor as always, he simply could not waste time. Often it seemed that there were no eighteen years of imprisonment and all those thorns that could be associated with it. Unexpected and active work carried out by Josyf Slipyj after his release was obviously a little surprising to KGB, which possibly thought that he was extremely sick and would not live for too long. Thus, the Soviet Union was using its clandestine networks all over the world to look after his activities, meetings with activists, ecclesiastical figures etc.⁴²⁷ Some documents could not forget about him even after his death in 1984, well until 1989 (when the UGCC began to get out from the underground) Soviet authorities were on some kind of alert over his legacy.⁴²⁸ On December 23, 1963, The Holy See issued an order by means of which Metropolitan had received an additional title and authority of the Supreme Archbishop. This decision was particularly important for the UGCC, first of all, it received the ecclesiastical and canonically approved autonomy that was much wider than before, plus all Ukrainian Greek-Catholics acquired much larger national self-governance in the clerical matters. Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj became the highest authority over the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, therefore, over all of

⁴²⁵ Resolution of the Second Department of the KGB of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic regarding the end of the operative case "Rify", ["Riffs", O.K.] against Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and other individuals, May 3, 1963. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol. 1, part 1.-pp. 335-337. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.2, ч.1.-Арк. 335-337.]*

⁴²⁶ ed. Stephanie Mahieu, Vlad Naumescu, *Churches In-between: Greek-Catholic Churches in Post Socialist Europe*, (LIT Verlag Münster, 2008) at pp. 132-133.

⁴²⁷ From the informative note made by KGB under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine regarding the activity of Josyf Slipyj in Rome, January 22, 1979. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Op.7 (year 1985).-Case. 42.-pp. 257-263. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.7 (1985).-Спр. 42.-Арк. 257-263.]*

⁴²⁸ Memory note made by the Ukrainian Regional KGB to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine about the growing intentions of the Vatican regarding resurrection of the UGCC in Ukraine, January 5, 1987. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Op.14 (year 1990).-Case. 1.-pp. 196, 197. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.14 (1990).-Спр. 1.-Арк. 196, 197.]*

its branches and groups, all the eparchies spread around the world that previously were ruled directly by the Holy See.⁴²⁹ Another big question suddenly arises from this; did the Soviet authorities could foresee his actions and strength to carry on? Just before giving him freedom, KGB and the Soviet legal system was literally trying to destroy Josyf Slipyj, he was already barely making it in yet another jail. Metropolitan was almost ready to die as he later wrote in his memoirs, and there was not much hope anymore.⁴³⁰ Nevertheless, he was able to raise his stature, physically and morally, and was literally able to live another life, which turned to be very important to the continuation of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Before his arrival to Rome, this organization was in a very weak position, it did not really have one organization and as it was said before was governed directly from Rome. Hierarchs as Bishop Buchko did a lot to preserve the Church abroad after the Council of Lviv, and certainly it did not suffer the same problems as in the Soviet Union, but still this organization needed the Metropolitan, who would put everything together. This was Slipyj's mission after 1963, plus the above mentioned political activity among the Ukrainian diaspora, which was used by him as a proof that the UGCC was supposed to exist, and eventually return to Ukraine, when it was ought to become independent many years later. Josyf Slipyj began to carry out his ecclesiastical mission in Rome and thanked Pope for his freedom.⁴³¹ In other words, it was more than just the mission of a clergyman, the Metropolitan-Higher Archbishop [if not counting another title of the Major Archbishop of the UGCC] was becoming a political figure in diaspora, who had to unite his people regardless of the religious affiliation. Moreover, to all the Greek-Catholics their Metropolitan was more important than the Pope, even though everyone knew that the first is subordinate to the Holy See, but Slipyj was better understood because of his closeness to his own laity. Above all, most of his energy was spent on reinstalling and protecting the rights of Greek-Catholic believers in the USSR, unity of the organization between Ukraine and Australia, from South to North America and Europe, strengthening of the hierarchy and its renovation:

on the way of fixing its shortcomings and mistakes of the past, on the way of adapting it to the contemporary times.⁴³²

The Second Vatican Council, possibly the biggest event in the Church history was one of the opportunities that was used by Josyf Slipyj, and after all, it could not be avoided without turning it into the UGCC 158ravel. 'We propose so the Kyiv-Halych Metropolity should be raised to the quality of Patriarchate', - with these words Metropolitan had finished his speech on October 10, 1963 during the second session of that historical Council. First, this idea was met with the effect of an overnight sensation and astonishment, however, merely in one year, on November 21, 1964, during the third session of the Council, an Edict was made, which recognized Patriarchy as the traditional form of any Eastern Rite Church.⁴³³ It was done a year later after the Ukrainian

⁴²⁹ Mylena Rudnytska, *The Invisible Stigmata*, [Невидимі стигмати], (Rome, Munich, Philadelphia, 1971) at pp. 307-317.

⁴³⁰ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, pp. 223-226.

⁴³¹ Andriy Mykhaleyko, "*Per aspera ad astra*": *der Einheitsgedanke im theologischen und pastoralen Werk von Josyf Slipyj (1892-1984) : eine historische Untersuchung*, (Augustinus bei Echter, 2009) at p. 66.

⁴³² Mylena Rudnytska, *The Invisible Stigmata*, [Невидимі стигмати] p. 209.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-261.

Greek-Catholic Metropolitan was elevated to the title of a Higher-Archbishop [mentioned above], and what sort of influence it had on the Church. Both of these decisions gave the future prospect of making the UGCC a Patriarchal organization, though during the Second Vatican Council this perspective seemed to be still in fog. Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was since then officially using the Patriarch's title, but the Church was not yet confirmed to be in the status of a Patriarchal organization.⁴³⁴ This step was being awaited for since then and did not get fulfilled, but there are hopes that the UGCC will one day become Patriarchal. It was one of the most important moves made by Josyf Slipyj and was not always popular among the Vatican's hierarchy. It seems that the Curia was slightly skeptical about giving even wider autonomy to the UGCC, which it already possessed. The question of Patriarchal status was faced by Josyf Slipyj during the Council and he was trying to use any opportunity to widen the autonomy of his Church, but it was not the most popular issue amongst the Vatican clergy, possibly because the UGCC was suppressed in Ukraine [or anywhere behind the Iron Curtain] and functioned only in the diaspora. Well, at least this presupposed reason for not granting the Patriarchal status was not really found in other sources, but as for the study, it may be an individual assumption only. If receiving the Patriarchal level turned to be extremely complicated, the process of creation of the new clergy in the diaspora became very successful, and in the late 1980s when the UGCC began to revive, most of it came to Ukraine from abroad.⁴³⁵ Josyf Slipyj was able to create the avant-garde of the future clergymen that would go back to Ukraine and help the local priests to reinvent the wheel.

XIX

Representation of J. Slipyj at the Council

New methods and tactics were checked and implied in the relations between Churches in the East and West during the Second Vatican Council at which Josyf Slipyj was participating as the representative of the biggest Eastern Catholic tradition. This Council turned to be one of the most important ecclesiastical gatherings not merely in terms of history, but also in terms of the future, it's decisions were meant to define the Catholic Church for many years to come.⁴³⁶ As Pope John XXIII said at the beginning of the Council [and who actually started it] that its aim is to open window of the Church, adapt it to the contemporary era, particularly to the needs of modernity, but at the same time through these changes return to the values of early Christianity, prepare the Church for real unity.⁴³⁷ Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was able to participate at the Council from the beginning of its second session, which started on September 29, 1963, in the St. Peter's Basilica. During the session, he was able to make a speech three times [October 11, November 12] and was given the right to serve Liturgy for the Council

⁴³⁴ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 9. Introductory article written by Lubomyr Cardinal Husar, Major Archbishop Emeritus.

⁴³⁵ James Hitchcock, *History of the Catholic Church: From the Apostolic Age to the Third Millennium*, (Ignatius Press, 2012) at p. 209.

⁴³⁶ Melissa J. Wilde, *Vatican II: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Change*, (Princeton University Press, 2007) at p. 15.

⁴³⁷ Mylena Rudnytska, *The Invisible Stigmata*, [Невидимі стигмати] p. 256.

participants. Actually, the latter occasion was of big honor to him and his presence. His speech on October 11 was made when the Council worked on the document called *About the Church*, and particularly then [for the first time] he publicly noted the importance of granting his Church the Patriarchal status.⁴³⁸ Even the fact that it was not very simple, still he was moving toward this difficult issue [as already noted above] without waiting until the end of the Council.

XX

J. Slipyj in Italy and the Soviet Attention

As it was said before, the Soviet authorities never left Slipyj behind, even after his leave, and always wanted to halt his activity by preventing it from entering the USSR. There is no document known so far, which could show that they wanted to assassinate him or do anything of that nature, however, his meetings with influential figures in the West were put under surveillance. The question of Patriarchate was also not left behind by the Soviet clandestine networks.

KGB under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic received the information through operative channels that on October 8-9 this year, in Rome there was a meeting of Ukrainian Catholic (uniate) bishops under the presidency of a Cardinal Slipyj in regards to the creation of the Ukrainian Catholic (Church) Patriarchate... Delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church unofficially presented at that time in Rome under the supervision of Metropolitan Nikodim Rotov brought to the attention of Pope Paul VI the fact that creation of the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which may be used in their own way by the Ukrainian nationalists abroad will stand on the way of possible normalization of relations between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Vatican. Following the acquired operative data, the Synod of the Catholic Church under the pressure from Paul VI had declined the decision of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops regarding the establishment of the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.⁴³⁹

This note was sent to the local Communist authorities in Ukraine by the regional KGB office in 1969, almost seven years after Slipyj's departure. Relations in the Vatican, particularly between Pope and Josyf Slipyj were of great importance to those who did not want the strengthening of the UGCC no matter where it was located. Vividly the Russian Orthodox Church and its delegation, which was led not merely by a priest, but by the Metropolitan was once again used as a tool to stop the development of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. Also, it can be seen from the report that the idea of Patriarchate was declined by Paul VI due to the delegation's activity, or at least it played some role in it. The patriarchal level of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church could seriously damage the authority of the Council of Lviv (1946) and

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 260.

⁴³⁹ Informative report produced by KGB under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (SSR) about an attempt made by Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj to establish the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, October 24, 1969. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Op.1 (year 1972).-Case. 8.-pp. 196, 197. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.1 (1972).-Сп. 8.-Арк. 196, 197.]*, [translated by me].

undermine everything what was done afterwards to damage Josyf Slipyj. Moreover, if the organization led by him could reach such a level, then possibly the Kremlin would have to somewhat legalize it in the USSR or at least progress it's status equal to the Latin Rite, which was legal, but not on the same level as was the ROC.

Upon the extinction of the official Uniate Church, the Greek Catholic faithful, who constituted the vast majority of the population in the region, could turn to the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁴⁰

This is why everything that was done or created through the actions of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was so dangerous to KGB and it's superiors in the Central Committee on the Moscow [all of the Soviet Union] or republican [in Ukraine] levels, both branches saw UGCC as the worst threat within the ecclesiastical sphere. Thus, according to them, it had to be proactively monitored or stopped. The fear of anti-Communist or nationalist oriented movement growing stronger with the rising influence of the largest Eastern Catholic Church in the Vatican could not leave KGB and its superiors in the policy-making sector of the Soviet government. There are no documents available yet that would signify their dissatisfaction with the fact that they allowed Slipyj to leave, or better to say there are no direct passages that might prove it, however, there is no question about the Soviet's surprise with his inner abilities to carry on. He was about seventy years old when they have decided to deport him, and the fact that he was in a very bad physical shape was well known, thus, his leaving was not expected to be followed with the upcoming activity. Slipyj had certainly proved them wrong, so after all, KGB could feel slightly astonished with what happened during the Second Vatican Council, his worldwide travels to solidify the UGCC in diaspora, meetings with people who were able to influence the anti-USSR policy making etc.,. Attempts to create the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, and strongly unite all the branches of the Church under one person, who would be standing directly under the Pope was Josyf Slipyj's major post-release mission.⁴⁴¹ Most likely this development was not really foreseen by the Kremlin because before his departure no clerical figure in the UGCC abroad could handle the task, and most clearly they could not predict that someone as physically weak and old as the Metropolitan would be ready to continue the fight. His idea to create the Patriarchate was met with some resistance in the Vatican because the latter did not want to worsen its relations with the Orthodox Christianity in general and specifically with the ROC. The Holy See did not really desire to show an aggressive pro-expansionist policy in the East.⁴⁴² Possibly it also did not want to expand the autonomy of the UGCC, which would certainly become more independent from the power of the Holy See if it acquired the Patriarchal status. Nevertheless, these movements on the side of Josyf Slipyj were noticed by every side, the Vatican, the Soviet Union, and the Greek-Catholic Church, which became more unified and determined as never before. Technically, its unity abroad was giving

⁴⁴⁰ Bruce R. Berglund (editor), *Christianity and Modernity in Eastern Europe*, an article by Natalia Shlikhta, *Competing Concepts of "Reunification" behind the Liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church*, (Central European University Press, 2010) at p. 162.

⁴⁴¹ Walter Dushnyck, *The Ukrainian Heritage in America*, (Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1991) at p. 41.

⁴⁴² ed. Ken Parry, *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, an article by Peter Galadza, *Eastern Catholic Christianity*, (John Wiley & Sons) at p. 295.

yet another clear message to the laity in Ukraine that it was not gone, the Council of Lviv was illegitimate from the ecclesiastical point of view and there was more hope of getting it back in the Soviet Union. Moreover, it gave the message of hope to those who believed in the end of the Soviet system in general because if the UGCC could be reinvented in Ukraine, then it was possible merely after the fall of Communism. No wonder why the Soviet authorities were carefully watching all developments that were surrounding Metropolitan-Patriarch [Major-Archbishop] Josyf Slipyj in foreign lands.

XXI

Greek-Catholics in Ukraine. Khrushchev and Brezhnev's Periods.

Authorities were getting worried about the number of Greek-Catholics in Ukraine, the fact was supported by various reports made by KGB.⁴⁴³ The document cited underneath the page is going to be mentioned again because of its particular importance in this and the following chapter. The amount itself was not declining, even though officially the UGCC did not exist in Ukraine or anywhere in the USSR, still it persisted with the well-organized system abroad and within millions of faithful laymen on both sides of the border. Foreign Ukrainian Catholic Church turned to be the engine, which was supposed to reinvent the wheel in Ukraine, and this was the aim of Josyf Slipyj.

KGB and the Communist Party after Stalin's death, and the infamous Khrushchev's speech at the twentieth Party rally in 1956 made some serious changes in the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union.⁴⁴⁴ Massive prosecutions stopped and most of the GULAG system was abolished, however, the same aims were followed. There were no plans to carry on with pacifications with dissidents, political rivals in the West (or anywhere in the world), and certainly no wishes to legalize the Greek-Catholic Church. No changes were made except for moves similar to the release of Josyf Slipyj from the jail, no massive atrocities on the scale of 1939 or 1946 were taking place, but still, if anyone was caught up for openly or secretly practicing the Greek-Catholic ritual could be arrested and taken before the trial immediately. In the post-Khrushchev era, late Brezhnev's years the game remained the same, KGB and the Central Committee were thoroughly working on making the life of 'uniates' as worse as possible, all their contacts in and abroad were monitored, the whole variety of measures were made with careful procedures.

By carrying out resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine from December 14, 1979 and February 26, 1980, orders and instructions from KGB USSR, the republican state security branches have developed and implemented the complex of measures to resist the hostile aims of the Vatican and foreign uniate centers, to uncover and prevent

⁴⁴³ From the memory note made by KGB of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Central Committee of the Ukraine's Communist Party about the situation within Uniates in the Republic and abroad, December 14, 1980. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Op.7 (year 1985).-Case. 58.-pp. 15-23. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Оп.7 (1985).-Спр. 58.-Арк. 15-23.]*

⁴⁴⁴ ed. Jeremy Smith, Melanie Ilic, *Khrushchev in the Kremlin: Policy and Government in the Soviet Union, 1953-64*, an article by Ian D. Thatcher, *Khrushchev as Leader*, (Routledge, 2011) at p. 17.

unlawful activity of the heads of the uniate underground in Ukraine, their discreditation, exposition of the anti-people's nature of the uniatism.⁴⁴⁵

These words sound like extremely rough ones and replicate everything that was composed way back in the 1940s. The state wanted to destroy and halt the development of the Greek-Catholic life anywhere with the use of force, secret police, clandestine networks etc. At the end of the 1970s early 1980s KGB managed to intercept many contacts that led to the West, a lot of leaders of the underground were arrested in western Ukraine, however, the evidence taken from the Soviet documents show that not everything was under their eye. Particularly it can be related to the foreign Greek-Catholic centers that were far away and could not be quickly penetrated with agents.

There were suppressed attempts of the uniate leaders in the Ivano-Frankivs'k, Lviv and Ternopil regions to involve youth into the religious-nationalist sphere, seven illegal printing locations were indicated and destroyed, fourteen leaders discredited, thirty three active uniates were prevented from activities... At the same time due to the lack of clandestine positions among the leading parts in the chain of illegal uniate groups, the branches of KGB in Ukraine did not uncover on time the hostile aims of the foreign centers yet, indicate all their contact channels with the associates in the republic, totally localize the hostile actions of the heads of the uniate underground.⁴⁴⁶

Still, nothing could be very successful and the regional KGB was honestly reporting it to the Central Committee (the Communist Party of Ukraine), without hiding its methods or abilities to halt some of the Greek-Catholics, but at the same time their large failures to go further. Methods certainly did not involve vigorous prosecutions such as deportations en masse or tortures, but there were no clear identifications of how they discredited people or prevented them from carrying out activities. Most likely it involved intimidation, fear factor, possible psychiatric institutionalization [which was widely practiced by the KGB during that time], and many more violent measures of pressure.⁴⁴⁷ The Soviet system did not plan to disappear from the ideological battlefield and haunted all the legacy of Josyf Slipyj. This chapter is particularly concentrating on his activities and the way of secret police find them out, the underground organization of the UGCC in Ukraine will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁴⁴⁵ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Op.7 (year 1985).-Case. 58.-pp. 15-23. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Оп.7 (1985).-Спр. 58.-Арк. 15-23.]*, [translated by me].

⁴⁴⁶ *F.16.-Op.7 (year 1985).-Case. 58.-pp. 15-23. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Оп.7 (1985).-Спр. 58.-Арк. 15-23.]*, [translated by me].

⁴⁴⁷ ed. Thomas G. Plante, PhD, *Abnormal Psychology Across the Ages [Three Volumes]*, an article by Eva D. Papiasvili and Linda A. Mayers, *Continuing Explorations of the Multiple Dimensions of the Human Mind: 1950-2000*, (ABC-CLIO, 2013) at p. 110.

XXII

John Paul II and his Position

The same document was particularly noting that Pope John Paul II is much more pro-Greek-Catholic than any other before him and that his policies are welcoming Josyf Slipyj including the latter strives to help Ukraine. For example, it says that from November 25 to December 2, 1980, following the initiative from John Paul II, the Vatican homed another Ukrainian Catholic Synod under the presidency of Slipyj, the Pope was represented by his Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches, Cardinal Rubin.⁴⁴⁸ Also, it may be peculiar that the Ukrainian Catholic Church at that time was granted the right to use the word “Synod” instead of more Latinized “Conference”; it was clearly a one step forward towards the Eastern tradition on the side of John Paul II, who was certainly respecting it. It is widely known that the Soviet regime was extremely scared by the 1979’s election of Karol Wojtyla to The Holy See, they felt that the Pope from Socialist Poland would organize the irreparable damage to their system, and actually were right.⁴⁴⁹ John Paul II was not hiding his political views and knew that he was supposed or even destined to support the UGCC, in some way he was understanding that the previous rivalries between the Latin and Eastern rites had to stop, and instead of fighting come together and fight Communism. This new and more radical position of the Vatican was very important to the cause of Josyf Slipyj, he found the right support from the hierarchy above him, and therefore, the future of his Church seemed brighter.

John Paul II decided to push forward against the Kremlin’s policies in Poland and everywhere behind the Iron Curtain, problems of which were equally experienced by both hierarchs, he understood Josyf Slipyj because his religious service in the Communist country gave the same experience. Wojtyla did not spend eighteen years in the exiles and labor camps but was seriously pressured by the regime, and many of his colleagues went through the same problems as Slipyj did in the USSR. When Poland was occupied by the Soviet troops, the Catholic Church there also went through similar pressure that tried to force it to co-operate with the new government.⁴⁵⁰ All the maneuvers that could be used by the Communist regimes were known to Wojtyla since the late 1940s, therefore, the cause of Cardinal Slipyj was gaining real support from the Vatican after 1979. Soon after his election, John Paul II wrote a letter to Josyf Slipyj in which he clearly stated his position on the Eastern matter and the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. ‘I think now that the primary necessity of the movement is to guarantee the right to existence and to citizenship of Ukrainian Catholics in their homeland’.⁴⁵¹ These messages were clear not merely in letters to Slipyj alone, but also to the policymakers in Kremlin, who knew that the UGCC in Ukraine will receive another push toward its rebirth. Moreover, this time it was fully backed by one of the most popular Popes in decades, who was from another Slavic nation,

⁴⁴⁸ *F.16.-Op.7 (year 1985).-Case. 58.-pp. 15-23. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Оп.7 (1985).-Спр. 58.-Арк. 15-23.]*

⁴⁴⁹ Nina Bandelj, *From Communists to Foreign Capitalists: The Social Foundations of Foreign Direct Investment in Postsocialist Europe*, (Princeton University Press, 2011) at p. 37.

⁴⁵⁰ Gian Franco Svidercoschi, *Stories of Karol: The Unknown Life of John Paul II*, (Gracewing Publishing, 2003) at p. 127.

⁴⁵¹ Sabrina Petra Ramet, *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005) at p. 293.

close to Ukraine in culture and language. Regional KGB in Ukraine was making more reports in the early 1980s about these new activities that witnessed their worries.

In the Vatican from November 25 to December 2, 1980 following the Pope John Paul II's initiative took place the Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the presidency of Cardinal SLIPYJ. It's participants have accepted the declaration "About the juridical illegality of the Council of Lviv in 1946", and also applied with proclamation to "the Ukrainian believers in their homeland, who are prosecuted", in order to support them "in the fight for faith and defense of the church". Besides that, the decision was made to enhance the activity of the Ukrainian church before the one thousandths jubilee of Ukraine's Christianization.⁴⁵²

At that time Josyf Slipyj was very old but still was able to carry on with his duties. As it was mentioned above, his physical and emotional strength was underestimated by the Soviet authorities way back in the early 1960s, and it's almost certain that at the time of making of this document, they were regretting their decision to free him. He went way further with his mission abroad and achieved absolutely powerful results that were signified by the newly established religious organization, which was barely surviving during the time of his departure. In 1980 it was becoming obvious that the Soviet system was not meeting the end of its original ideological plan, Communism was impossible in the real-life and the whole idea of building it on Earth was growing pale. So far the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was suppressed by various methods, however, it existed within the Soviet Ukraine and beyond its borders.

XXIII

Russian Orthodox Church and the Vatican. Anti-Patriarchal Position of the ROC

Metropolitan-Cardinal Josyf Slipyj was raising the new generation of priests in the foreign lands that would replace him later, and as it appears right now, he was very successful in doing it. The document cited above, also mentioned the letter written by the Russian Patriarch Pimen to Pope in which he was accusing the decision made during the UGCC Synod, according to the ROC it was damaging the relations between Moscow and the Vatican. Immediately the Lviv-Ternopil eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church called for the gathering of its clergy in celebration to commemorate the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Synod of Lviv.⁴⁵³ It clearly meant that all these actions made on the side of the UGCC in alliance with the new Vatican's strategy were causing nervousness and uncertainty of the Orthodox position in the traditionally Greek-Catholic territories. The spirit of coexistence between the RCC and ROC that was more or less presented during the previous Pontiffs was not working anymore, and to some extent reflected the new tendency in the Soviet-Western relations. It was the end

⁴⁵² From the information report made by Ukraine's Regional KGB to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine regarding conduct of the Synod of the UGCC under Josyf Slipyj, June 26, 1981. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.16.-Op.7 (year 1985).-Case. 62.-pp. 28-37. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.7 (1985).-Спр. 62.-Арк. 28-37.], [translated by me].

⁴⁵³ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.16.-Op.7 (year 1985).-Case. 62.-pp. 28-37. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.7 (1985).-Спр. 62.-Арк. 28-37.]

of I, the beginning of the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan, and Reagan's policies against the Communist expansion. John Paul II and his leadership fit the time, and all the attempts to strengthen the Greek-Catholic Church procured by Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj were set right for the moment. The last years of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj [also Major Archbishop, Higher Archbishop, *Cardinal*, and de-facto Patriarch) spent in work, which was part of another round of fight between the West and the Soviet Union, basically he did not live merely five years till the moment when the UGCC came back to life in Ukraine. His last attempts to preside over any new beginning in the Greek-Catholic Church were noted by such figures as Ronald Reagan and John Paul II because both were not believing in the endlessness of Communism. Josyf Slipyj tried to use any opportunity to push his Church back into Ukraine, particularly when the moment was giving its chance. It's known that John Paul II and Cardinal Josyf Slipyj led letter correspondence in which the Pontiff showed his complete support of his duties and particularly his clerical mission.⁴⁵⁴ It is widely believed that John Paul's and Reagan's policies toward the USSR made it fall much faster, thus, due to the fact that Josyf Slipyj was clearly participating in these policies, then it can be said that Metropolitan also made that state go earlier, or at least tried to do so. Even though some may argue that Slipyj's mission was only ecclesiastical and too little to make any serious contribution to the weakening of Communism in Ukraine, it seems obvious that he was indeed making these contributions with the help of many other factors that were surrounding him. After reading numerous documents composed by KGB or the Central Committee of the Communist Party [local Ukrainian level and the Union level] it turns to be obvious that Metropolitan Slipyj's energies were not gone into nowhere, but were actually implemented inside the structure of the anti-Communist alliance. These Soviet organizations were paying a lot of attention to his actions, and if some skeptics may say that his actions were numerous, but only in the eyes of the believers, it will not be true. By looking at the situation through historical documentation, which was meticulously preserved by the contemporary archives, it appears to be vivid that all of the actions (in and abroad) were noted by Josyf Slipyj's enemies often with more care than by his allies. Here is an excerpt from the official document, which discusses that particular connection between John Paul II and Josyf Slipyj.

4 members of the synod have underlined 'big contribution and use of the Vatican radio broadcasts to Ukraine' and congratulated for it Pope John-Paul II. The decision was made to enable activity of the uniatic church beforehand of the 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Ukraine. Its determined to raise the amount of publications of religious-propagandist nature in Ukrainian language for the further shipments into the republic.⁴⁵⁵

The Soviet regime did not want to see anything that could be associated with the ideological triangle set by the UGCC leadership – Patriarchal Church in alliance with Rome, and anti-Sovietism. As it was witnessed before, Kremlin always used many tactics to turn this triangle into something that would appear as the militant nationalism, the church of treason,

⁴⁵⁴ John Paul II, *Letter of His Holiness Pope John Paul II to Josyf Cardinal Slipyj: On the Occasion of the Announcement of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine*, (Harvard University, Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1979).

⁴⁵⁵ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. -F.16.-Op.7 (year 1985).-Case. 58.-pp. 15-23. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Оп.7 (1985).-Спр. 58.-Арк. 15-23.]*

and anti-Orthodox tradition. It may be also said that the mission of Josyf Slipyj was to resist the Soviet version. He did it when being incarcerated, exiled or during his work after 1962 in Rome, or while visiting the Ukrainian diaspora all over the world.

XXIV

J. Slipyj's Cultural Activities until his Death in 1984

More words should be said about Metropolitan's cultural activities that were also part of his mission and destiny. As his predecessor Andrei Sheptytsky, Josyf Slipyj was a person who cherished arts, architecture, and education, and without these qualities, it will be difficult to understand what he did during his prominent career. He also felt that arts and culture are necessary for the development of people and their future, and the Church is supposed to take care of these issues. After all, it could be strange if the student and follower of Andrei Sheptytsky were different from his mentor, who gave an incredible cultural insight to the Galician region of Ukraine during the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. He was doing it through raising of his students in making them feel the esthetics of this world because later they would transfer it to the laity and another generation of priests. He was using different means to bring estheticism and culture into the minds of people around him. Thus, in the 1930s he decided to establish the museum under the Lviv Theological Academy, which was meant to open the best of the local folk culture before his students, and additionally teach them history. When creating this museum, he stated that many priests do not value workmanship and history and that the same may be said about the rest of society. He thought that how the priests could know these issues if they were not taught in the proper way by their predecessors, so the Academy under his patronage began to include courses in arts, archeology and introduced more museum trips.⁴⁵⁶ After the release from the Soviet jail, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj had also organized the museum in Rome, particularly he was filling its collection during his travels around the world. For example, when being in Spain [1970] he found that in a town of Montserrat in the Benedictine monastery there is an old tunic of the Greek-Slavic origin [or of the Eastern Rite tradition], he visited that place, and the local brethren decided to give it to him as a gift without taking any money.⁴⁵⁷ When visiting the Holy Land, Metropolitan was impressed in which style the local children dress, he believed that it had to resemble the New Testament times and early Christians.

Above all my attention was drawn to the children's wear: on the shoulders of little Copts there was an embroidery of the old kind that is located in the museum in Lion. Though they were worn out I had a great wish to buy them and bring to the museum. Also, when traveling through

⁴⁵⁶ ed. Ivan Muzychka, *In Patriarch's Memoriam*, [Пам'яті Патріарха], (Lviv, 1994) at p. 62.

⁴⁵⁷ Olga Vitoshynska, *Travels of his Beatitude Josyf (1968-1970) in the Light of a Foreign Press*, [Подорожі Блаженішого Кир Йосифа VII (1968-1970) у світлі чужої преси], (Rome-Paris, 1972) at p. 76.

Tiveriada I have recalled: before all here are fine water barrels among which one I've purchased for the museum.⁴⁵⁸

His museum was quickly gaining more and more showpieces and around 1976 was already possessing two departments – natural history and arts, both had fifty-six rooms and incorporated ten thousand exhibits.⁴⁵⁹ Possibly if Josyf Slipyj did not follow the theological career, he would become the Ukrainian historian similar to Mykhailo Hrushevsky or Orest Subtelny. His strives for culturalization and education were often going together with the Church matters, and sometimes simply could not be separated from one another. Earlier during his career, Slipyj wanted to accomplish two paths, clerical and academical, both seemed easy to put together, and possibly equally important.

Even though the decision to become a priest was already made, the biggest difficulty for me was that I wanted to dedicate myself to science, but the choice of a priesthood in the general view and mine was limited to marriage and service in the village, something what did not attract me. I wanted to give myself to science and find the position, which would help me to go in this direction. I have cherished the thought of being a priest, but also a professor.⁴⁶⁰

It was in the way of his thinking, and probably helped to shape the basic position in life, maybe assisted the formation of his mission during the most difficult days when there was no hope of survival. In a way, the scientific ways of thinking and academic meticulousness could help him go through interrogations or problems of talking to the Soviet officials. The reason why this chapter ends with discussing Josyf Slipyj's cultural heritage lays in the fact that it seems to be the most sensitive and summarizing part of his personality. He was planning to create the Ukrainian cultural center in Lviv and to accomplish this task wanted to buy a building where it all could be located. Moreover, various plans to build the new church in Lviv where the famous clerical activists and laity could hide [these plans took place closer to the end of the 1930s]. To make this task possible, he was able to collect fifteen thousand dollars, but the beginning of World War II annulled these plans.⁴⁶¹ This wish was implemented merely in thirty years when in 1969 the Byzantine styled Ukrainian Greek-Catholic church of St. Sophia in Rome was finally constructed and on the twenty-eighth of September the same year was ceremonially blessed [consecrated and visited] by Pope Paul VI.⁴⁶² This was the actual frame for the Ukrainian cultural center in Rome, Italy, which became the place of gathering of the Ukrainian diaspora (Catholic and Orthodox too) from all over the world. It was one of the largest cultural accomplishments given by the Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj to believers of the UGCC outside of Ukraine.

⁴⁵⁸ Oleg F. Sidor, *His Beatitude Josyf and Arts*, [Блаженніший Йосип і мистецтво], (Rome, S.G.S., 1994) at p. 25.

⁴⁵⁹ ed. Pavlo Senytsya, *The Illuminator of Truth: Vol II*, [Світильник істини], (Toronto-Chicago, Ukrainian Catholic University, 1976) at p. 265.

⁴⁶⁰ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, p. 104. [translated by me].

⁴⁶¹ Pavlo Senytsya, *The Illuminator of Truth: Vol II*, p. 78.

⁴⁶² *Consecration of St. Sophia: Historic Visit of Pope Paul VI to the Ukrainian Catholics, Rome 1969*, (Apon Record Company, 1970).

Patriarch-Metropolitan-Cardinal Josyf Slipyj died on September 7, 1984 in Rome. The church of St. Sophia became the place where people were giving the last farewell to him, and everything that he was able to do during his long and extremely complicated life. John Paul II, who was really respecting the Metropolitan, came to visit the ceremony and had announced forty days of mourning at the Vatican.⁴⁶³ The Pope had lost one of the most trusted allies and friends. Josyf Cardinal Slipyj's motto was plain and simple, *Per Aspera ad Astra*, and eventually did reflect his entire life, the period before he went to Rome and after his arrest in 1946 was thorny, and the life in Rome or Grottaferrata, missionary travels around the world may be the stars. President Ronald Reagan was in favor of the Ukrainian diaspora and the UGCC, he wrote a statement on Cardinal Slipyj's death where he was particularly underlining his contribution to the fight against authoritarianism and for the freedom of the world. Here is the actual statement, which probably should be cited in full:

It is with deep sense of loss that I acknowledge the death of Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and extend my condolences to Ukrainians throughout the world. When we remember Slipyj's eighteen years in Soviet prison camps, when we reflect that he was condemned to the gulag because he refused to betray his church, we see the power and strength of the human spirit brought clearly into focus. Even after release from that long imprisonment, Cardinal Slipyj's spirit and energy were not lessened. Between his release in 1963 and his death at the age of 92, he travelled the world to visit Ukrainian Catholics and visited President Ford here in the White House. He established a Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, built the impressive St. Sophia Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Catholic University. Recently, he was deeply involved in the planning of a worldwide celebration for the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine to take place in 1988. Cardinal Slipyj's commitment to God and the freedom of men was unshakable, despite punishment and exile for his beliefs. Because of his inspired life, he has long been a symbol of the strength of God and human spirit. He will remain such, cherished not only by Ukrainians, but by men and women of good will in all nations.⁴⁶⁴

The Church in the Underground and its Structure between 1946-1989

It explains the UGCC when it was illegal in the Soviet Union. What was to be done to organize laymen and show them that the Church still existed. Networks of communication attempts to make secret contacts abroad, underground theological education, and hopes to get out from the underground.

⁴⁶³ ed. V. Gayuk, *Patriarch Josyf Slipyj*, (Logos Publishing, 1991) at p. 124.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ronald Reagan, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1984*, (Best Books on, 1986) at p. 1302.

Early Underground Structure and J. Slipyj's Role in It

In order to fully understand the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church during the Soviet period, it may be absolutely important to discuss and analyze its underground structure, which existed after the Council of Lviv [1946] until 1989 when this organization could finally get legalized. The 'catacomb' Church was the real survivalist structure for millions of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics during the Communist era and was the only place where they could practice their religion. Constant dangers, fears of getting arrested, informers and agents from the inside, all these factors will be discussed in the following chapter. The previous one came close to it with the analysis of Josyf Slipyj's biography, his mission, and achievements to preserve the UGCC, and here the discussion should concentrate on the underground Church itself. Certainly, the KGB's declassified documents will be used to see the other side of that struggle, and many life stories from those who survived, priests, monks, and laity, which built the bulk of the resistance. As for the twentieth century, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was the largest active underground Christian community in the world, and at the same time the biggest Eastern Catholic denomination.⁴⁶⁵ It may be particularly interesting to focus on the lives of ordinary laymen, priests, and monks, who were deprived of their churches and monasteries, but managed to cope with their complicated situation without openly established Bishops or the Metropolitan himself, and began to organize the secret community of believers. UGCC went into the catacomb state and began to resemble an early Christian community with its own network of churches [not publicly exposed and usually located in private houses or apartments], seminaries, and definitely the ritualistic side as long as it was not noted by the surveillance. Seminaries and clandestine monasteries did function, however, in the rudimentary forms so to speak.⁴⁶⁶ As was already noted in the previous chapter, the underground formation of the Greek-Catholic Church in the USSR had some contacts with the UGCC in diaspora, and it was very important for its survival, Rome was giving assistance together with the Ukrainian Catholics from many continents, primarily from the United States and Canada.⁴⁶⁷ Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was spending most of his time after the release from the Soviet prison to solidify the UGCC in diaspora and build the connecting bridge with the Church behind an *Iron Curtain*. The most important cornerstone on which the structure was holding, belonged to common people, who did not recognize the blending of the Greek-Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodoxy, which was fully under control of the Soviet state. The majority of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in the USSR primarily lived in the western regions of Ukraine [mainly in Galicia], but many of those, who were deported to Siberia kept their faith there too.⁴⁶⁸ Basically, Josyf

⁴⁶⁵ Paul Burns, *Butler's Saint for the Day*, (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007) at p. 105.

⁴⁶⁶ Thomas Bremer, *Cross and Kremlin: A Brief History of the Orthodox Church in Russia*, (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2013) at p. 142.

⁴⁶⁷ Alexander Lushnycky, *Ukrainian of Greater Philadelphia*, (Arcadia Publishing, 2007) at p. 95.

⁴⁶⁸ Osyp Zinkevych, Andrew Sorokowski, *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Ukraine: An Encyclopedic Chronology*, (Smoloskyp Publishers and the National Committee to Commemorate the Millenium of Christianity in Ukraine) at pp. 231-242.

Slipyj and many other clergymen who decided not to co-operate with the Communist regime turned into such ‘Siberian’ or just simply said, the exiled Greek-Catholic believers outside of Ukraine. Technically the principle of illegality of the UGCC was spread all over the Soviet Union and certainly was not cornered merely in the Galician region of Ukraine. It was the global organization in which one half existed in freedom and could retain its institutions, but the other in hiding, thus, the whole point of an underground existence was to unite these two halves together under a cap of the free part. Simply without the underground network, and the plan to exist in this manner, which was laid down by Josyf Slipyj before he was arrested, the UGCC would not survive in Ukraine or at least would not get re-established in the same numbers as it was in 1989. Brochure or the set of instructions already mentioned previously was issued in 1945 under the supervision of the newly established Metropolitan, marked the beginning of the underground Greek-Catholic Church. It appears that Josyf Slipyj knew that his organization is going to be de-legalized very soon, and an open struggle against the Soviet regime would be impossible. Priests had to learn to serve without church buildings [Temples] and laymen were supposed to hide their beliefs but maintain them while knowing that the Church itself still exists. KGB reports cited that brochure with vigor, while specifically underlining its future meaning to the Greek-Catholic population, the most worrisome side to them was Josyf Slipyj’s call not to openly resist the system and learn how to exist in hiding from it. ‘The brochure noted:

If our priest will except the parish where believers would have a wish to hear the service in Ukrainian, Belarus or any other language, then that priest should agree and serve according to the believer’s wish”. The brochure said that the Vatican gives the right to a priest to serve without lighting, without aides and even without a vestment. In accordance with the Pope’s allowance each priest has a right to independently bless the chalice and if it’s not in his possession the it’s possible to bless an ordinary bowl while getting adopted to the real life of a priest.⁴⁶⁹

The pavement for the underground structures was made by the Church leadership with the Vatican’s consent, which was well aware of developments that took place under the Stalinist regime. In a way it may be said that during times of survival and hidden existence, the Church cannot practice ceremonies in the major city’s Cathedral or publish newspapers with calls to visit the Sunday Mass, and in the case of an underground UGCC all the most clandestine means of survival had to be implemented, but while retaining the ritual. Probably the last citation clearly points out the fact that the UGCC [at least according to Josyf Slipyj, who made the set of instructions in correlation with the Holy See] was not rejecting the ritual and did not turn into an apartment based proselytic group without the ceremonial part. It was supposed to keep all traditions, however, under the various difficulties imposed upon Church’s ritualistic side, the clergy and millions of believers had to adjust to these new realities and learn how to hide the ritual itself. Even the seminaries were supposed to be established, but without any

⁴⁶⁹ Special notice of the head of the Department of Lviv Regional NKGB Voronin in regards to the spreading of a brochure “Basic rules of the contemporary pastoral duties” among the Greek-Catholic priests. January, 28, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-p. 134-137. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.16.-Арк. 134-137.], [translated by me].*

public or legal recognition, without buildings and any forms of infrastructure.⁴⁷⁰ Some may say that the underground existence could be easier if the UGCC had no ritual side and partially it can be right, for example, Baptists did not need instructions on how to bless the chalice if there was no such chalice, but merely a bowl or how to serve the Holy Mass if there was no actual church, but only the apartment. To some extent, it was resembling the situation in which the English Catholics had to live during and after Henry VIII's reign when monasteries were dismantled, and priests who remained loyal to the Holy See had to run and hide. The most difficult task on the side of anyone who wanted to preserve the Union with Rome was to keep the tradition alive, and though the whole infrastructure was taken away, still all the traditions had to be preserved at least on the individual level [on the grounds of a single parish without the bishop or connections to any other higher clergy].⁴⁷¹ The major driving force behind the process of preservation was standing upon the stubbornness and faith of the people, and responsibility shared by Josyf Slipyj, his loyal clergymen, and Rome's position not to accept any decisions taken during the Council of Lviv in 1946.

II

Laity and the Soviet System. Father Mendrunya.

In the meanwhile, it should be especially important to concentrate on the ordinary people and their relations with the regime, on how they were capable to keep their traditions and managed to stay in contact with the Church. Father Vasyl' Mendrunya, who is now serving in one of the UGCC parishes in western Ukraine [as of 2014] well remembers those days when it was extremely difficult to get out and practice the non-legal Rite. On the journalist's question what was the true motive for the UGCC to take the risk of the underground service, he answered:

During the period between 1946-1989 our Church was the largest forbidden church in the world. However, at the same time while ignoring harsh persecutions, the Church continued to live in the underground because of a thoroughly constructed system of secret seminaries, monasteries, parishes, and youth groups. A human being, no matter where he lives should be loyal to God and the Church, always to his nation, not considering the conditions of life. And the call for the monastic life was developing on the basis of inner religious thoughts: it can be said that there was a wish to serve God under persecutory circumstances.⁴⁷²

According to the information given in the article, Father V. Mendrunya was brought up in a religious family and was ready to take the mission of service regardless of the numerous dangers that surrounded the illegal Church. He started his ecclesiastical career in the underground way back in the 1970s, the period which did not witness massive deportations

⁴⁷⁰ Alexander Lushnycky, *Ukrainian of Greater Philadelphia*, pp. 95-96.

⁴⁷¹ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-p. 134-137. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.16.-Арк. 134-137.]*

⁴⁷² An interview by Zoryana Gumnyts'ka with Father Vasyl' Mendrunya, newspaper article, *About the Life and Activity of the UGCC in the Underground*, [Про життя і діяльність УГКЦ у підпіллі], (Vidrodzhennya, #32, July 8, 2014), [translated by me].

from the western Ukraine, [or any other region] but certainly was part of the 'illegal' era when jails and KGB interrogators were on alert. When Father Mendrunya was asked about how it was possible to marry under the jurisdiction of the illegal Church, and if there was traditional instruction from a priest on how the marriage should be, he said that there were a few choices on how to proceed.

To take a marriage for traditional believers [here UGCC., O.K.] in times of totalitarian regime meant to go to the officially allowed Church [ROC., O.K.] or to search for possibilities to bless the marriage by the illegal Greek-Catholic priests. We did not have any officially opened church. Nevertheless, Roman-Catholic churches and monasteries were open. But not all of them, merely some. Also, there were churches that were under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. Thus, the faithful Greek-Catholic did not go there and did not ask for any service. Majority was arranging it in a private space with a priest, who was preparing a young couple for the sacrament of marriage.⁴⁷³

Going to visit people who were not always well known to the priest was certainly very dangerous, any time it could be the trap organized by KGB or police. At the same time, any totalitarian system is familiar with denunciations written or told by anyone against anybody, thus, if the Greek-Catholic priest was planning to bless the marriage in someone's home, it could easily be infiltrated by the agent or an informer, and arrests based on their reports could easily follow. Of course, any unfamiliar people or often even neighbors could not be fully trusted, unless they went through the same situation and were well known for a long time. The private religious services can be understood, it was hidden and done in secret from the public, but the biggest question is how it was possible to organize seminaries and monasteries without getting caught by the authorities. Father Mendrunya explained this process based on his own experience in the underground Greek-Catholic Church.

I think that seminaries were located merely in Galicia. Practically in every community. Basilians had their own circle, based on the private apartments where a few candidates for the priesthood have gathered. Redemptorists had their own, Studites also their own, etc. Overwhelmingly studies lasted long and were carried out individually. An individual method to deal with studies was also dictated by the fact that students were working during the weekdays, so they could study only during the weekends. Understandably, the study program was quite narrow than in the regular seminaries and included only the most important and unavoidable subjects.⁴⁷⁴

It clearly appears that private apartments or houses somewhere further away from the curious eyes became the ground base to locate nearly all the Church activities, and if everything was well hidden, then there was a good chance of not getting arrested. Risks were always nearby, people who chose to go for the Greek-Catholic priest could be taken into custody and interrogated, worse was waiting for the clandestine clergy. Only the bravest and certainly determined ones could bear the burden of fears, jail sentences, and constant surveillance which was literally everywhere. Father Mendrunya was one of those, who decided to follow this path

⁴⁷³ Ibid., An interview by Zoryana Gumnyts'ka with Father Vasyl' Mendrunya.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., An interview by Zoryana Gumnyts'ka

and eventually managed to survive to tell his story. There were thousands of priests and monks who did not last, broke down before the system by reporting on their colleagues and laity, decided to join the official ROC or were jailed. This factor was widely discussed in the previous chapter, particularly the one on the mission of Josyf Slipyj. The UGCC was not one hundred percent loyal to the Union of Brest, especially when it came to the Council of Lviv, but most of the clergy and laity remained solid, and Father Vasil' Mendrunya is a good example of such a position.

III

Helsinki Accords. West and the Soviet Union. Josyf Terelya.

The underground period was not marked only by hiding because there were a few attempts to break the barrier and come out, despite the dangers and certain unacceptability of such moves. In 1982 three priests and two laymen activists formed the so-called *Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church*, its first chairman Josyf Terelya became the driving force behind it.⁴⁷⁵ Generally speaking, it may be important to talk more about this dissident who left the real trace of his work during the underground period. Basically, anyone who managed to get out and publicly deny the official system of the day was of special stock and belonged to a small minority of people that physically could not stay calm. It was a certain destruction of one's career, interrogations, exiles, or politically motivated psychiatry.⁴⁷⁶ Terelya and his close friends in the UGCC decided to make such a move, and above all, did it openly without running away from KGB or the Communist Party officials. He wrote the following words in an open letter to the authorities, defending the freedom of religion and conscience in the Soviet Union.

As of today, all information [about] the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be submitted for examination by world public opinion; Catholics of the world must know and remember under what conditions we live. We have one aim - *legalization*.⁴⁷⁷

His statement was going hand in hand with the Helsinki Accords of 1975, and therefore, there was no need to hide the real position of the initiative pro-human rights movement group. However, the major difficulty was within the mainframe of the state it was based upon, even though on paper the USSR did sign the agreement, possessed the written Constitution, which also defended the rights of men and the freedom of conscience, still there was nothing that could be called the applicability of what was said to what was actually done. At the same time, Terelya had announced that there also was the *Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics*, [the number of its actual members is not clear] and that his group colleagues are expecting to be arrested [he was arrested twice in December, 1982 and February, 1985, and his closest friend

⁴⁷⁵ Sabrina P. Ramet, *Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies*, an article by Roman Solchanyk and Ivan Hvat, *The Catholic Church in the Soviet Union*, (Duke University Press, 1990) at p. 75.

⁴⁷⁶ To see more information on the Soviet dissidents read Vladimir Bukovsky, *To Build a Castle: My Life as a Dissenter*, (Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1988).

⁴⁷⁷ Sabrina P. Ramet, *Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies*, p. 75.

Vasyl' Kobryn in 1984].⁴⁷⁸ They certainly did not believe in honesty of the Soviet authorities at all, the real position was meant to be open, and went to face the risk right from the beginning. Possibly the whole idea of their standing was originally meant to be on the martyr's side to attract more attention to the suffering of Greek-Catholics in the Soviet Union. In any way, this move did actually go in contrast to what the above-mentioned Father Vasyl' Mendrunya was doing in the underground, but both ways of resistance were equally important. One was serving religion and the people in secrecy, the other could stand up without any fear, write letters to the Communist officials, send more letters overseas and look for the reaction from both sides, and subsequently one was getting more concerned about the situation behind the Iron Curtain, and the other went to make more arrests. In this sense, Metropolitan-Cardinal Josyf Slipyj was making an open up calls for the freedom of the UGCC, but as he noted in his brochure of 1945, it was not necessary to always resist and laity could learn some ways of the underground, secret existence.⁴⁷⁹ Josyf Terelya himself did not start the road of struggle in the early eighties, totally he spent twenty years of imprisonment and exiles in the Soviet penitentiary system, almost died in the Vladimir prison in 1972, when he was nearly frozen to death in his jail cell; from his own words [presumably also witnessed by prison guards] he was saved by the Holy Mary and her presence in there during the most difficult moments.⁴⁸⁰ Of course, the Soviet persecutors and psychiatrists did not believe him, but his case is counted by the Catholic Church as one of the most famous cases of apparitions of Mary in the recent four or five decades. His cell number twenty one in the noted Vladimir prison [about one hundred kilometers away from Moscow] was so cold that he simply was supposed to die if there was no additional heating, thus, his guards could not actually believe that he managed to survive, and the only explanation given by him was that the image of Mary herself indeed saved him from a certain death.⁴⁸¹ Terelya is one of the best examples of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic dissidents, who represented laity and it's capabilities of fighting, possibly if Josyf Slipyj was the most famous clergyman in this organization, who did not break, the first is the best-known laymen on the resistance side. The major purpose of creating such dissident organizations as the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics was to spread the information in the West about conditions behind the Iron Curtain, obviously there was no hope to change the setup minds in the Communist Party because at least in the early 1980s it did not plan any legalization of the UGCC or any other kinds of liberal moves.⁴⁸² For example, the position of Pope Paul VI was according to many a little biased because he did not want to lose all the connections with the Russian Orthodox Church, and certainly this stance of his was in many ways hurting the Greek-Catholic cause.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 76.

⁴⁷⁹ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.16.-p. 134-137. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.16.-Арк. 134-137.]*

⁴⁸⁰ David Michael Lindsey, *The Woman and the Dragon: Apparitions of Mary*, (Pelican Publishing, 2001) at p. 183.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., p. 183.

⁴⁸² Serhiy Fedaka, *From the History of Christianity in Zakarpattya*, [З історії Християнства на Закарпатті], (Lira, 2013) at p. 32.

Fiercely loyal Greek-Catholics charged that the Vatican's efforts at a "dialogue of love" with Russian Orthodoxy meant, in practice, a "dialogue of love" with the KGB, which was clearly impossible, and just as clearly counterproductive.⁴⁸³

It was very difficult at that time to understand why the underground Greek-Catholic Church is not getting enough support from Rome, and generally, the West is not recognizing its right to truly deny the pressure from the Soviet government. The fact is that Paul VI allowed Greek-Catholics in the Soviet Union practice sacraments [holy communion etc.] in the Russian Orthodox Church if there was no church of their own, thus, to many it was seen as treason or simply being naive; some even said that it looked as if St. Peter was making the "dialogue of love" with Nero while Christians were being thrown to lions in the Colosseum.⁴⁸⁴ It seems that during the 1960s and 70s the Holy See did not fully understand the whole capacity of the KGB, Soviet policies toward the West, its ability to wisely hide its anti-Church values when it was necessary, etc. Particularly during the 1970s, there was a strong Detente spirit in the relations between East and West, and it appears that many hierarchs in the Catholic Church were viewing their dialogue with the KGB-controlled ROC as the Soviet-American, *Soyuz-Apollo* space project. They thought that it was all possible if the general meaning of Christian values was mentioned during the official meetings, conferences, or ecumenical talks. Eventually, they did not get the fact that the ROC was under the full Soviet control, and was not acting independently, when on the other hand the UGCC was staying underground and resembled all the qualities of early Christianity, faith without much power, and of course loyalty to Rome or actually to the Bishop of Rome. Particularly these issues caused some underground activists to get out and openly accuse the Soviet government in prosecutions, and Josyf Terelya was really shattering the naive behavior of many in the Curia or even in Washington D.C. Making friends with the real prosecutors of Christianity was seen too immoral, and by the time of John Paul II the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church began to receive far more support than during the previous Pontiffs. Sometimes the underground ecclesiastical organization had to speak up to survive, otherwise it was totally left behind and forgotten. Josyf Terelya is now seen from two perspectives, as a mystic, who witnessed two apparitions of Mary, and the activist. Both sides of his personality co-existed by making that character, which is remembered by any devout Catholic [both Latin and Eastern Rite]. Here many skeptics may question the fact that he has actually seen the apparition, but it totally depends on one's individual faith, the fact that he was the dissident is clear. The underground UGCC probably may see him as one of the most famous laymen in its recent history who tried to breach the wall between its hidden life of struggle and the conscience in the West, particularly in the Vatican. In 1984 his Chronicle of the Catholic Church of Ukraine published information about the number of priests that were ordained in Zakarpattia [Transcarpathia] region from 1981 to 1984, and it included eighty-one people.⁴⁸⁵ Now, if looking at the geography of the region it may be obvious that it's relatively small, however, in merely three years so many volunteers decided to become priests in that area. Previously, it was said that the UGCC was primarily located in the neighboring Galicia, but in

⁴⁸³ George Weigel, *The End and the Beginning: Pope John Paul II - The Victory of Freedom, the Last Years, the Legacy*, (Crown Publishing Group, 2010) at p. 181.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁴⁸⁵ Eric O. Hanson, *The Catholic Church in World Politics*, (Princeton University Press, 2014) at p. 402.

the *Chronicle*, Josyf Terelya could mention the Ruthenian Catholic Church too, or both because there he was probably giving the numbers of any Greek-Catholic organization without distinguishing its particular denomination. The 1984 issue of Terelya's *Chronicle* was taken over the Soviet border and was read by those who were interested in the situation behind the Iron Curtain. Most likely this particular underground journal and other self-made evidences [*samizdat*] about the life of the Greek-Catholic Church in the USSR that were getting through added more certainty to John Paul II, activists, and possibly some politicians.⁴⁸⁶ The *Chronicle* mentioned Lech Walesa and his political struggle in Poland, curiously Josyf Terelya said that the latter's resistance movement was giving more determination and strength to the cause of legalization of the Greek-Catholic tradition. At the same time as Josyf Slipyj, Terelya managed to survive all his struggles without being the Metropolitan for whom the Vatican could plead, or famous writer as Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who had received the Nobel Prize, however, he was noticed by Ronald Reagan and freed following the latter's appeal to Gorbachev in 1987. The same year Josyf Terelya [the UGCC was still forbidden] paid a visit to Kremlin as the representative of an underground organization and asked for the immediate legalization; possibly his words were heard or at least taken into account because indeed it was legalized [on the wave of pluralism and democratic changes two/four years later].⁴⁸⁷ Through such activists as Terelya or priests as Father Vasyl Mendrunya the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic tradition was first of all surviving in the underground, it was able to give service to people, and secondly, it could speak for itself not merely inside the Soviet jails, but also around the world, especially if it was connected with the UGCC in the diaspora, western politicians who cared and certainly the Vatican. The latter became way more conscious about the underground existence behind the Iron Curtain under Pope John Paul II, his name was underlined before, when mentioning this issue, and will definitely be mentioned later on.

IV

Romanian Greek-Catholic Church

His personal contribution to support the freedom of conscience all over the world, and human rights cannot be forgotten, John Paul's efforts did not escape the fate of the UGCC, so that is the main reason why he is so thoroughly a part of this study in chapters seven, eight, nine and ten. There is a possibility that without his 'Eastern policy' and personal standing [Slavic origin, support of *Solidarity* in Poland, defense of Greek-Catholics in Ukraine and other countries] the Iron Curtain would last much longer, and certainly the UGCC would not come out from the underground in 1989-1990.⁴⁸⁸ Vatican's 'Eastern policy', which began to take

⁴⁸⁶ Read Ferdinand Joseph Maria Feldbrugge, *Samizdat and Political Dissent in the Soviet Union*, (BRILL, 1975), ed. Friederike Kind-Kovacs, Jessie Labov, *Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond: Transnational Media During and After Socialism*, (Berghahn Books, 2013).

⁴⁸⁷ Vlad Naumescu, *Modes of Religiosity in Eastern Christianity: Religious Processes and Social Change in Ukraine*, (LIT Verlag Münster, 2007) at pp. 56-58.

⁴⁸⁸ George Weigel, *The Final Revolution: The Resistance Church and the Collapse of Communism*, (Oxford University Press, 2003) at p. 86.

shape after 1979 began to seriously recognize the Greek-Catholic cause in Europe [and beyond], for example, fellow to the UGCC, Romanian Greek-Catholic Church also felt some degree of changes, and seek for more support. In 1991 the major Romanian Rite Catholic center in Transylvania, a town of Alba Iulia was elevated from being the diocese to archdiocese, and its bishop became Cardinal the following year [all of it was protested by the Romanian Orthodox Church, and its Patriarch in Bucharest].⁴⁸⁹ It was possible through the actions of John Paul II and was the direct result of his support of the Greek-Catholic tradition, which is not the major one in most of the countries where they exist, but rather concentrate in one or two regions, for example in Ukraine its Galicia and Zakarpattya (Transcarpathia), and in Romania its Transylvania, (also formerly controlled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire). In comparison to the UGCC, the RGCC was also completely de-legalized under the Communist regime, and was seen as the direct Western ‘espionage force’, which seemed to separate Transylvania from the rest of Romania and give it back to Hungary, an idea that is still can be heard in Bucharest.⁴⁹⁰ Similar ideas, if not the same, were circulating under the Soviet regime in Ukraine, accusing the UGCC of practically everything in which the Romanian Greek-Catholics were accused of, merely with some historical or local differences. Both existed in the underground, were not wiped out even though numerous attempts were made to do so, and managed to carry their traditions through the period of this underground existence. It’s interesting to compare the fate and the underground position of both Churches, they certainly resemble each other in nearly every concerned area or period in history.

After the Concordat with the Roman Catholic Church was revoked, in 1948, the communist state never sought to reach a compromise with that church, which continued its activity in the country under serious restrictions. In 1948 the Greek-Catholic Church was disbanded, its churches and adjacent land transferred to the Orthodox Church, and its leaders imprisoned if refusing to convert to Orthodoxy.⁴⁹¹

It was all the same political process, which put the Greek-Catholic Churches in the underground, and forced them to go through the life of de-legalized organizations in the totalitarian system. Once again, it should be specifically underlined that both, Romanian and Russian Orthodox Churches *were not acting independently and must not be blamed for everything they did against their fellow Christian denominations from the Eastern Rite tradition*. This mentioning of the Greek-Catholic tradition in Romania is merely an important contrast to what was taking place with the UGCC and certainly was important enough to get included in this discussion.

⁴⁸⁹ Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, (Columbia University Press, 2013) at p. 87.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 82.

⁴⁹¹ Lavinia Stan, Lucian Turcescu, *Church, State, and Democracy in Expanding Europe*, (Oxford University Press, 2011) at pp. 136-137.

Underground UGCC in the 1970s and early 1980s. Bishop Vasiliy Velychkivsky and his Role.

The underground existence of any organization is the taking of many risks and requires a lot of strong determination. Here this study is primarily analyzing the phenomena of survival of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the significance of both of its leading hierarchs on its structural preservation, thus, at this point, it may be said that the analysis had already discovered three major factors to answer the thesis question. The first one lays within the laymen, their will to continue with the religious tradition, which was thoroughly connected to Ukrainian [and particularly Galician] culture [and therefore, their personal wish to consolidate their ecclesiastical organization].⁴⁹² Second, it was the will of the UGCC clergy starting with Andrei Sheptytsky, later Josyf Slipyj, and nearly everyone who succeeded them or assisted along the way. Some did break with their tradition, however, most of the priests, monks, and nuns chose the life of struggle, and they too carried the wish of making this Church return as an independent organization. The third factor belongs to the outside forces, diaspora [should be discussed in the following chapter more thoroughly, but was already mentioned many times before], politicians such as John F. Kennedy, who lobbied the freedom for Josyf Slipyj, to Ronald Reagan, who openly supported the Ukrainian cause in general along with its Greek-Catholic Church. Plus, major support from the outside came from the Vatican itself, which was canonically leading all the Eastern Catholic tradition, and simply could not leave it behind. Generally speaking, it was the Catholic Church worldwide that was standing behind the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and depending on the contemporary Pope's policies received more or less assistance. All of these factors were always proved by the Soviet side as well, in their documents and the whole variety of reports, they simply knew with whom they are dealing with, and for example, the enthronization of John Paul II shattered their confidence in their own future.

Representatives of the American administration became involved with the provocative campaign which was started by the Vatican. The anti-Soviet radio-station "Freedom" in the program from June 23 this year said, that the US Senate had accepted the resolution in which it was offered to President Reagan to ask the Soviet authorities, "to solve the real resurgence of the independent churches in Ukraine, including the Ukrainian uniate church". KGB bodies of the Republic are carrying out measures to expose the Vatican's attempts to revive the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine and compromise the uniate chiefs before believers in the western regions'.⁴⁹³

The underground structure was primarily formed by the laity and those priests and monks, who were not afraid to act in their practice of the religion and cared for the future of

⁴⁹² Harvey Rosenfeld, *Raoul Wallenberg: The Mystery Lives On*, (iUniverse, 2005) at pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

⁴⁹³ From the information report made by Ukraine's Regional KGB to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine regarding conduct of the Synod of the UGCC under Josyf Slipyj, June 26, 1981. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register.7 (year 1985).-Case. 62.-pp. 28-37. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.7 (1985).-Сп. 62.-Арк. 28-37.]*, [translated by me].

their Church organization. In order to fully understand the factor of an underground existence, which is the focus of this chapter, it may be necessary to turn in the direction of personal biographies and ordinary people. Father Vasyl' Mendrunya was already mentioned above as a good example of such a priest; he was literally raised in the underground, and until the late 1980s did not know any other kind of church, except for it being secretive and clandestine in its organization. After all the leadership of such people as Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj did a huge job in preserving the Church, however, it required wide support from the ordinary clergy, and it should be analyzed with more attention. Soviet documents [produced by KGB] give lists of names, which included laymen and regular monks or priests, who were keeping the UGCC alive together with its Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj. One report from 1958 primarily concentrates on actions that were supposed to destroy particularly the underground movement, it included names, short descriptions of what these people did in real life, and what should be done with them in the process of more prosecutions. For example, Josyf Slipyj was not of much concern, at least in the document that is going to be cited, he was isolated in the Siberian exile in 1958, however, his supporters could activate others, and cause the chain reaction of more anti-Soviet sentiments. It mentions at least thirty nuns, which according to KGB formed the underground organization with strong connections to Josyf Slipyj, interchangeably there were surveilled or arrested, as it happened with Teklya Rud'ko, who was caught carrying a letter from the Metropolitan when crossing the Soviet-Polish border.⁴⁹⁴ The same document reports that the underground UGCC organization was aided by the abbot Vasylii Velychivsky, who spent ten years in the northern labor camps [Vorkutlag] and in 1955 returned to Lviv. His activities truly represent someone, who as Josyf Terelya did not want to always stay in the underground, but actually wished for open protests and legalization. Here is how KGB was characterizing him:

Until the end of 1957 he traveled around the regions and provided religious services. In Ternopil tried to organize the manifestation against the Orthodox Church with the aim to take back the parish and open the Greek-Catholic Church. Manifestation was prevented by the regional KGB. During the same year he was collecting the believers' signatures in Ternopil under the letter composed by him, and sent it to Moscow, it asked the Soviet government to open the Greek-Catholic Church. Besides that he personally went to Moscow to fulfill this aim, and to meet the commissioner of the department of religious affairs in the Cabinet of Minister of the USSR.⁴⁹⁵

It was extremely brave to protest in this manner and was setting an example in the eyes of many believers, it meant that if someone as abbot is not afraid, agitates against the government, and generally speaking, not merely provides religious services in the underground, but stands in the open. This could exist as the major factor behind people's minds, at least they could start to understand that their underground Church may one day get legalized. It should be understood that keeping the underground, secretive beliefs is extremely difficult for most of the ordinary people, no matter how determined they are en masse, still at some point there is no will to carry on, casual believers usually begin to turn around and give

⁴⁹⁴ The plan of operative-investigatory measures of KGB in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the case of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and Illya Blavatsky, December 22, 1958. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.2.-p. 88-115. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.2.-Арк. 88-115]

⁴⁹⁵ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.2.-p. 88-115. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.2.-Арк. 88-115], [translated by me].

everything up, tell the details of the underground work, etc.⁴⁹⁶ Certainly many in Galicia were solid in their beliefs for most of the time, it not that easy to make them switch the denomination or give in to the Communist ideals, the majority was not bending down before it. Nevertheless, nobody could guarantee that it will last forever, so leaders of the underground kept on rising from time to time, and dealt with the government without hiding, managed it *tet a tet*, showing political or ecclesiastical leaders abroad and people within the country that it was worth fighting for the UGCC and its independence. Publicist and historian Michal Wawrzonek believes that the UGCC could be accepted and legalized only by the government itself, and therefore, here it may be theorized that these open standing activities were necessary.

Supposedly, for the authorities, one of the desirable results of the legalization of the Greek-Catholic Church - if it had to happen - was to subordinate it to the processes which were stimulated and controlled from the top

At the same time, it may be also obvious that the Soviet system was not brave enough as to at least try to legalize it and use for its own purpose, staunchly powerful beliefs in the legalization without breaking from the Vatican, and no collaboration attempts on the side of such people as Teklya Rud'ko or Vasyliy Velychkivsky did not allow it to happen.

Supposedly, for the authorities, one of the desirable results of the legalization of the Greek-Catholic Church - if it had to happen - was to subordinate it to the processes which were stimulated and controlled from the top.⁴⁹⁷

Wawrzonek related some signs and elements of this closer to 1988, but as history had shown later, no controllable UGCC was possible. Even if such plans began to circulate inside the Communist Party's leadership, certainly they did not do so for at least fifty years, and had no chances to separate the underground in Ukraine from its *brothers* and *sisters* [particularly meaning nuns and monks, but also the laymen] in diaspora [and the Vatican itself].

VI

Common Church Activists and their Connection to J. Slipyj

Church activists who continued with their service were ready to do any physical or emotional work, for instance, nuns that were mentioned by the document above were working in the tuberculosis hospital or as custodians in various establishments, at the same time they were also leading their secretive life in the underground Church.⁴⁹⁸ The most dangerous job to

⁴⁹⁶ Interrogation protocol of a witness Mariya Nakonechna on the case of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, *tate Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.6.-Case. S-67829-fp.-Vol.7.-p. 273-277. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Сп. С-67829-фп.-Т.7.-Арк. 273-277]

⁴⁹⁷ Michal Wawrzonek, *Religion and Politics in Ukraine: The Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches as Elements of Ukraine's Political System*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015) at p. 139.

⁴⁹⁸ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.*-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.2.-p. 88-115. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Сп. С-9113.-Т.2.-Арк. 88-115].

do was to keep contacts with Metropolitan and the West across the border, send and resend letters, brochures, inform the Catholic Church and politicians worldwide about the situation in which UGCC was supposed to live. As numerous documents show, KGB managed to control most of the active persons, their attempts to strongly manifest their plans or assist Josyf Slipyj, and other influential hierarchs. At the same time, the Greek-Catholic underground networks managed to preserve their integrity despite all the odds, and recalls made by ordinary laymen and clergy can explain how it was done because after all, that is the strongest account of survival. Many people who can give solid memories did perish, however, many of them lived longer than the persecutions could last, and now can tell a lot about their life in the underground. Iryna Kolomyets, a historian at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, collected some memories about the old underground days of the UGCC in her article *For the Soviet System it was Difficult to Fight Christmas Celebrations*, there she give witness accounts of how the resistance was going on in the real everyday life.

Atheistic government was using various methods to destroy from brutal prohibitions to adaptations to push its own values. Olha K., recalls: “During the choir lessons we sang, “The new power came, the new way’s tone... over Moscow clear new dawn had shone”. More often the Christmas song, “Good evening to you, sir host” was turned upside down. It was saying that the New Year was born... Me and other girls only burst with laughs to these twists in the Christmas carol.⁴⁹⁹

If taking into account the fact that they were laughing at what was taking place in their school, means that even small children were strongly determined about their faith. Laymen did not buy into such changes and saw the falseness of changes that were made to the songs they knew from parents, and underground priests. This was the basic fiber of resistance among many commoners, traditions mattered to them and practically carried the faith along with culture, which after all preserved the religious community in the underground existence.

It was difficult to gather with the family. There were no days off during the Christmas. Conversely, they tried to give more of some special work during these days. But people did not give up. Even late at night when coming back from work, suburban trains were filled with happy Christmas carols because one half of factory workers in Lviv came from local villages. Nobody could prohibit Christmas carols in public transport. Further away from Lviv, louder was the carol. In each locality the Christmas celebrations depended on local authorities: head of the village council, local Communist Party chairman, or militia. Often for more control school teachers were used. They were watching, so pupils do not visit the church or walk around with Christmas carols.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁹<<http://www.ichistory.org.ua/2014/01/13/radyans-kij-systemi-vazhko-bulo-borotysya-z-svyatkuvannya-rizdvanyh-svyat/>>: an article by Iryna Kolomyets, *For the Soviet System it was Difficult to Fight Christmas Celebrations*, [Радянській системі було важко боротися з святкуванням новорічних свят], [translated by me], Institute of the Church History, Ukrainian Catholic University portal, (updated, April 10, 2015), accessed April 10, 2015.

⁵⁰⁰Ibid.,<<http://www.ichistory.org.ua/2014/01/13/radyans-kij-systemi-vazhko-bulo-borotysya-z-svyatkuvannya-rizdvanyh-svyat/>>

Certainly, these are the signs of everyday resistance in order to preserve all those basic needs for the religious life and traditional ways of manifesting it, however, they were meeting forceful prohibitions. According to this account, people did not really listen to the official regulations, and further away it was from the big city, more religious freedoms existed. Rural regions could not be monitored the same way it was done in Lviv (in the case shown above) because of less Communist authorities, more unity between the people, who probably knew each other well enough not to report. This example definitely defends the claim that folklore lives longer in the village, and therefore, it helped the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church to preserve itself, along with ethnic traditions. People in the rural areas held stronger to their traditional Church, and the underground ecclesiastical system could thrive in one way or another particularly over there because cities remained more transparent and were better surveilled by the authorities. Previously mentioned ‘prosecutory psychiatry’ that was widely used specifically during Brezhnev’s period did not leave out the Greek-Catholic priests, who were pressured by this suppressive instrument. In 1974 Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was something to say about that during the plenary session of the Synod of the Catholic Church in Rome, moreover, he noted the general condition of an underground UGCC. Here it was possible to retrieve information about that particular speech from, yet another Soviet document given by KGB to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Cardinal’s Anti-Soviet proclamation. In the foreign nationalist Ukrainian press there was published an article about the fact that in the beginning of October, 1974 in Rome was taking place the plenary session of the Synod of the Catholic Church, during which Cardinal Josyf Slipyj made a speech. He said that supposedly in the Soviet Union there is are persecutions against the Church and believers, cases of locating some priests into the psychiatric institutions. SLIPYJ has called the Synod to speak out with protest against these “persecutions”. KGB under the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR knows about it.⁵⁰¹

The underground structure of the UGCC was able to inform its supreme leader of the problems and difficulties it was facing in the USSR, even though most likely Josyf Slipyj knew it anyway because he went through literally everything. It all meant that at some point the diaspora based branch of the Greek-Catholic Church began to see some new ways of suppression then used by the authorities, in this case, psychiatric institutions to scare the most active priests away from underground. The underground Church structure as it was said previously was indeed keeping its head up also because of the help from the outside, hence it was one of the reasons why it survived. Possibly the Soviet government did not want too much attention from the world when it came to human rights, especially after the signing of the Helsinki Accords, thus, any of such speeches made by Slipyj or another influential representative of the Catholic Church [or the Western government official] could actually bring this unneeded attention followed by accusations. The underground activists or merely ordinary laymen and priests needed this sort of support and more or less were able to receive it, but of

⁵⁰¹ From the informative report made by KGB under the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine about the speech by Josyf Slipyj during the Synod of the Catholic Church regarding persecutions against Uniates in the Soviet Union, October 18, 1974. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register.4 (year 1977).-Case. 11.-pp. 55-58. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.4 (1977).-Спр. 11.-Арк. 55-58.]*, [translated by me].

course, it could not change their situation in terms of legalization or freedom to at least some elements of the Greek-Catholic tradition in Ukraine. In 1975 KGB was again informing the Central Committee about more attempts made by ‘the outside factor’ to assist the situation in which the underground Church was existing and was afraid that these attempts could cause an uprising in some parts of the Ukraine’s west; specifically, the document was noting Vatican’s reluctance to establish the Kyiv-Halych Patriarchate, something what was wished by diaspora, Josyf Slipyj and the underground UGCC structures in the Soviet Union for a long time.

According to a report [...], heads of the Uniate Church abroad are planning to carry out the “all Ukrainian gathering” in Rome (Italy) from 9 to 20 of July, 1975 in commemoration to the Vatican’s decision to make it a holy year. During the identified days the are plans to organize demonstrations before the Soviet embassy in Rome to ask for freedom of V. MOROZ and other accused figures for the anti-Soviet activities, and also plans the spread the documents about “persecutions” in the Soviet Union, especially in Ukraine, will relate to religion and the underground activity of the Uniate Church.⁵⁰²

The clandestine Church in Ukraine was seemingly not left without the foreign help [or better to say, Ukrainian-Catholic political assistance from the outside], and it was very important to free some thoroughly prosecuted activists or priests, and possibly lessen the intensity of arrests and other repressive measures.

VII

Fathers Herman Budzinsky and Metodyj Kostyuk. Their Significance in the 1970s

Father Vasyl’ Mendrunya has mentioned in an interview with him that in order to escape arrests or other forms of oppression many priests or monks tried to serve in the ordinary, civilian clothes, without chasubles or other kinds of ornaments used inside the church or during the ceremonial processions.

If there was such a possibility and one hundred percent sureness that nobody will report, then tried to walk without chasubles. True, there were those, who were not afraid. Mainly among those, who already went through jails and everyone knew about them...⁵⁰³

This was his answer to the question about funeral processions, and it clearly stated that some people in the underground did not try to hide their beliefs not because of their determination, but due to hard experience gained in the past and determination. Even if militia [police in the USSR] or ‘reporters’ from the crowd could tell about them, they merely knew what will happen to them next, these activists among the laity or clergy were hardened enough

⁵⁰² From the informative report made by KGB under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine regarding the conduction of the all Ukrainian gathering in Rome with participation of the Uniate clergy headed by Josyf Slipyj, June 20, 1975. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register.7 (year 1985).-Case. 9.-pp. 307-313. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Оп.7 (1985).-Спр. 9.-Арк. 307-313.]*, [translated by me].

⁵⁰³ An interview by Zoryana Gumnyts’ka with Father Vasyl’ Mendrunya.

to resist in open. A good example of such Greek-Catholic priest was Father Herman Budzinsky, he always tried to act in open, without hiding his beliefs or wishes to legalize his tradition. Father Metody Kostyuk [another representative of the underground UGCC organization] recalls him in the following words:

In his sermons he often spoke against the Soviet authority, against the Communism as the system. Back in those days, I remember his sermons during the 1970s. And you know, back then when it was seriously dangerous to talk, he plainly spoke out, not considering who is in the house. This, his house was always opened. It was possible to enter his home, who wanted did it, who did not, stayed out. Eventually KGB agents could walk in. He could call the Soviet system, the devilish system... Father Budzinsky was speaking directly into the eyes to KGB agents or other functionaries of the Soviet system about their falseness.⁵⁰⁴

This priest was not afraid of anything and clearly believed that the only dangerous thing that could have happened to him was death or at least another deportation. Such movers and shakers of the underground structure of the UGCC did not wish to go beneath the surface, and from there provide liturgical services. They literally thought that staying underground and openly speaking against the authorities was possible and could be mixed together. Certainly, their position was heroic for the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, and brought more anger and fear to KGB or the Communist Party authorities that despite all the efforts they have done to eliminate the organization, it still not merely hid from them, but produced such figures as Josyf Terelya from the laity, and Father Budzinsky from the clergy. A lot of issues arose from the contacts that the underground organization was able to keep overseas, and KGB constantly attempted to cut them down or at least monitor them in order to find more network participants on both sides of the border.⁵⁰⁵ Father Budzinsky was directly participating in sending messages to Rome in the 1970s. The speech made by Josyf Slipyj in 1975 about the problems that Greek-Catholics were facing in the Soviet Union was in many ways caused by letters resent by Budzinsky via the network, which was supported by many activists that lived in different parts of the country. Interestingly, a few religious activists from Estonia were able to come with help, and actually assisted the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic underground when it needed to contact the West as quickly as possible. This information was also taken from Father Metody Kostyuk, who was a close colleague of Herman Budzinsky.

Therefore, Father Herman Budzinsky made contacts through my friend Myron Bendyk... Then, particularly Myron Bendyk had created contacts with Estonian people of belief, very unnoticeable, one of them was Vojli Ogarenko. It is the Ukrainian last name. Possibly he was Ukrainian but did not speak neither in Ukrainian nor in Russian. That person made contacts

⁵⁰⁴ <<http://catholicnews.org.ua/pidpilna-liturgiia-o-germana-budzinskogo>>: an article about Father Herman Budzinsky, *An Underground Liturgy of a Father Herman Budzinsky*, [Підпільна Літургія о. Германа Будзінського], Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church news portal, Catholic Review [Католицький Оглядач], (updated, April 11, 2015), accessed April 11, 2015.

⁵⁰⁵ Information note of the chairman of the Department of KGB under the Soviet of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Lviv region V. Shevchenko to chairman of the Fourth Department of KGB under the SM of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic B. Shulzhenko regarding the "Rify" case, April 14, 1959. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.10.-p. 42-48. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.10.-Арк. 42-48].*

with people with whom it became possible to send his letters over the border using diplomatic service. When Father Budzinsky to some newspaper or yet to another Soviet organization, then it was necessary to immediately give it's copy to Estonians, transfer there, give it to Mr. Ogarenko, and further he proceeded. I do not know to whom he gave it later because it was unknown to us. We were not curious in these details because it was extremely dangerous back then to know such things. Soon in a matter of days these letters were published somewhere overseas in different sources. When they have ended up over the border, and various international meetings took place, when there was proving material, the real material, which could be used in order to tell the Soviet system that in the Soviet Union there are persecutions against the Church, particularly the Greek-Catholic Church.⁵⁰⁶

These memories of the underground priest are really interesting because they show the actual fabric of the underground activity, its actual methods, and throughways. This is how Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj had acquired enough information in order to make the speech during the above mentioned Catholic Synod in Rome, this was the long clandestine line between the Ukrainian underground and the highest hierarchs in the Vatican. Moreover, it was Herman Budzinsky, who was part of the informatory chain, someone who was well known to Andrei Sheptytsky and to Josyf Slipyj at least since the 1940s: some Soviet documents prove it because he was under the vigorous attention since the latter became the Metropolitan in 1944.⁵⁰⁷ After all, the resistance in itself was similar to the game of two intelligence services with a mere exception, the UGCC side was not guaranteed any rights or the rules of diplomatic protection in the foreign territory. Simply said, the question of human rights in the USSR was not defended unless there was pressure from the West, thus, it was turning the whole UGCC agenda into a struggle of clandestine determination in which sending of such letters was of huge importance. It could be possible that the information about hanged UGCC underground priest Father Mikhail Lutsky in a wood near the western Ukrainian village of Dronovyo in January 1975 went through the same 'Estonian channel'.⁵⁰⁸ The human rights groups worldwide could monitor and check on the developments that took place in Ukraine [or anywhere in the Soviet Union] with more accuracy, basing their opinion or facts that were literally smuggled out of the USSR by the underground networks. In this particular case, these were the Greek-Catholic activists or other allied organizations and volunteers, not necessarily from Ukraine, who as Vojli Ogarenko in Estonia seeked to cooperate against the contemporary regime. Once again, it was met with dangers that included arrests, search warrants and calls to visit local militia or KGB office to talk about the future of a prospected activist, his friends or relatives, and the incompatibility between his/her ideas and the Soviet regime. Father Herman Budzinsky was facing this sort of pressure and was clearly ready for anything to happen with him or those who were willing to assist his underground struggle with the system.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., <<http://catholicnews.org.ua/pidpilna-liturgiia-o-germana-budzinskogo>>: [translated by me].

⁵⁰⁷ From the informative note made by Colonel of the State Security S. Karin-Danilenko to the People's Commissar of the State Security of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic S. Savchenko about meetings and negotiations with representatives of the Greek-Catholic Church, before November 16, 1944. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.19.-p. 190-222. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.19.-Арк. 190-222]*.

⁵⁰⁸ Minority Rights Group Report, Vol 1, (The Group, 1983) at p. 12.

However, they began to thoroughly persecute Father Budzinsky over those letters. Searches began in his house. His house was turned upside down. All the religious objects were taken away. They have taken everything. I remember the icon of Holy Mary was confiscated; it was drawn on wood... It was such an icon possessed by Father Budzinsky. I came into his house for more than once, a few times, after those searches, overhauls, when he was laying on a bed with those sick legs, doors were open again, anybody could come in. Some scared brother was in there, crying and all shaking, accused a Father over his old man because the latter wants to live quietly, but because of a Father there is no calmness and no life. In the house there are people and trembling fear in the house. Teoksyt, brother. Teoksyt was the name of that brother. And Father Budzinsky calmly tells how they shook him, what they told him, what kind of illogical discussion they have carried out... So, he was taking it very serenely... He said: ‘They do not want to arrest me anymore because they know that today or tomorrow I will die’. Truthfully, he was very old, and very, very sick. He almost did not raise from the bed, only for the Liturgy or prayer. Thus, when talking to people he was in the laying position. He had seriously damaged feet... Then Father Budzinsky told me one thing, basically what was said to him by the agents during the last search. ‘You are the old man, soon will die. All we have to do is to find the courier’. Then I began to think... Then I have understood how dangerous my mission was.⁵⁰⁹

Father Metody Kostyuk was the one who was submitting the informatory letters to Herman Budzinsky’s contacts in Estonia, and surely his task was very unsafe. If caught he was facing thorough interrogations, possibly beatings, and certain jail sentence in the Siberian labor camps. Nevertheless, he was not arrested by the Soviet prosecutors system and managed to fulfill everything that was given to him by Father Budzinsky, all the necessary information was transferred to Rome. It was important to cite the whole paragraph, which contains Father Kostyuk’s memories because each word is vividly explaining the tensions of the underground existence, it’s everyday difficulties, and the astonishing misery in which all the activists were supposed to live. Not every person [including the monk mentioned in the text] was ready to take all the hardships and certainly, everyone was afraid of another search or arrest. It also became visible that people who probably owned the house did not always feel comfortable with the fact that Father Budzinsky is living in there, even though they were thorough believers, otherwise they would not let him in. It also seems logical to think that the authorities did not arrest Budzinsky for the same reason as why they did not arrest the old Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky in 1944.⁵¹⁰ They were interested in their contacts, and not in them in particular because of the old age and strong determination to carry on. In other words, while staying in the underground or when being in jail or an exile, equally this kind of activists could speak against the Soviet regime. It may be obvious if looking at Josyf Slipyj, who was also managing to resist his prosecutors in any place where he was supposed to go, and none of the suppressive methods could be applicable to them. Another reason may be laying in the fact that in the 1970s authorities were trying to arrest less known activists, specifically those who were not famous enough in Ukraine or in the western press, especially if as Father Budzinsky they have already

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., <<http://catholicnews.org.ua/pidpilna-liturgiia-o-germana-budzinskogo>>: [translated by me].

⁵¹⁰ From the operative report made by the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic S. Savchenko to the superior authorities in regards death of the UGCC Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, November 16, 1944. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.19.-p. 185-189. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.19.-Арк. 185-185].*

gone through labor camps in the past. Yet another violent measure against someone as Herman Budzinsky was capable of making an additional protesting note against the USSR in the Vatican or the US President's administration [searches probably did not worry the Soviet system much, only arrests or exiles could do it, including the repressive psychiatry].⁵¹¹

Churches or any other religious organizations that were suppressed by the Soviet regime did feel the issue of need to cooperate with each other to resist their unfair position. If two organizations [let's say Baptists and Greek-Catholics] stay in the underground, they in one way or another will try to find the common ground, and if possible assist the cause of freedom. It certainly happened with the Estonian Evangelicals and Father Budzinsky when via Vojli Ogarenko (from the Estonian side) were sending letters to inform the West about misgivings of the Communist system. The same 'illegal' situation was facing practically any non-Russian Orthodox denomination (religious organization) in the USSR, except for some exclusions from this rule, it could touch Roman Catholics (not all though, especially if they openly spoke against the Soviet system, as for example it happened in Lithuania - this issue was mentioned by Josyf Slipyj in his memoirs and will be discussed in the following chapters), Muslims in the traditionally Muslim areas (for example, Central Asia or Northern Caucasus), Evangelicals in Estonia, though on the above-mentioned example of cooperation with the underground UGCC not all of the latter's group agreed with the regime.⁵¹² Jews were also not much tolerated, especially if it came to the practice of Judaism in public.⁵¹³ Technically it may be important and interesting to spend some time in this chapter contrasting the underground UGCC organization and other similar structures in the USSR after WWII. There was no security to those who wanted to question the legal policy of the system, thus, UGCC was not alone in the Soviet Union, so it should be good if these others will be included in the discussion. Of course, in order not to get away from the topic and main question (survival of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church structure and the significance of A. Sheptytsky and J. Slipyj in this process) other underground religious structures may be discussed in connection to the UGCC and Ukraine in one way or another. It was already done before in previous chapters when Poles and [the Roman Catholic Church] along with the Jewish community were incorporated into the topic.

VIII

“Repentants” in the UGCC. Other Denominations in the Underground.

During the late 1960s and further into the 1970s the Communist Party seemed to strengthen its pressure against the whole spectrum of religious organizations. Variably the same period when Father Herman Budzinsky was active and made it possible to make his reports on human

⁵¹¹ ed. Hara Kouki, Eduardo Romanos, *Protest Beyond Borders: Contentious Politics in Europe since 1945*, an article by Hara Kouki, *Human Rights as a Transnational Vocabulary of Protest: Campaigning against the Political Abuse of Psychiatry in the Soviet Union*, (Berghahn Books, 2011) at p. 49.

⁵¹² See, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet, *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005). Particular articles are of special importance by Philip Walters, *A Survey of Soviet religious policy*.

⁵¹³ See, Zvi Y. Gitelman, *The Jewish Religion in the USSR*, (Institute for Jewish Policy Planning & Research of the Synagogue Council of America, 1971).

rights over the activists in Estonia. Merely in Ivano-Frankivsk region twelve Greek-Catholics (also called *Pokutnyky* [Repentants] for their staunchly determined position against the regime) were charged with criminal cases, five people from that group got arrested for not serving in the army, seventy-one children were taken to the state-run boarding schools because their parents belonged to the underground UGCC organization.⁵¹⁴ In 1968-69 the Jehovah's Witnesses began to experience pressure as well, fifty were taken to the Soviet courts, three thousand decided not to vote (possibly in response to the escalating repressions) and twenty refused to serve in the army.⁵¹⁵

Following the 1971 Central Committee resolution which, amongst other things, called for stricter control over observance of the law, a further wave of arrests took place in the early 1970s, reaching a peak in 1973. Though this new assault extended to a broader spread of denominations, the Baptists remained the single largest group. From the 1969 CRA report, which notes that some seventy of those sentenced in 1966-67 went straight back to their illegal activities on release, and from a cursory examination of the names of those arrested in the early 1970s, it is clear that harassment of this sort did little to deter the more militant reform Baptists.⁵¹⁶

The fact that Evangelical Christians were not in favor at all, and the escalation of surveillance began to increase, it may explain why the underground UGCC was able to find more friends in the overwhelmingly Protestant Estonia during that particular period of time. *Pokutnyky* in the UGCC belonged to a group that could be similar to the reformed group of Baptists noted in the quote above. Father Ivan (Gnat) Soltys was a prominent member of the given group.⁵¹⁷ They did not want to have anything in common with the Soviet system, stayed in total denial of all things that could be associated with it, even if it was worth not living anymore, still they would never cooperate or even accept something from the government. Priests as Herman Budzinsky were not well known for belonging to this particular group (or branch) of the underground Greek-Catholic Church, but he could well fit into their system of beliefs because he was also thoroughly denying anything that was associated with the Communist ideology. Seemingly they were sharing a lot in common with those in other denominations, who were radical enough to speak out and at the same time completely deny any service to the country in which they had to live. This is probably the major difference between radical Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses who did not want to serve in the army, *Pokutnyky* within the UGCC, and other groups within the same denominations. Eventually, underground UGCC did not really trust them and as Sabrina Petra Ramet argues in her *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*,

The established underground Ukrainian Catholic church question the veracity of the miracle and reacted even more critically to certain postulates and practices of the group, such as

⁵¹⁴ John Anderson, *Religion, State and Politics in the Soviet Union and Successor States*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994) at p. 134.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.134-135.

⁵¹⁷ International Slavic Conference, *Marxism and Religion in Eastern Europe*, (Springer Science & Business Media, 1975) at p. 127.

preaching the end of the world (announced for 1962), prescribing a nine-day penitence and a pilgrimage to the “Holy Place of the Virgin’s apparition” in order to be saved, anathematizing Rome for its cooperation with “antichrist,” and proclaiming the “Holy Mountain” in Serednia as a “New Rome” along with the announcement that a “true pope” had appeared in Ukraine in the person Arkhierei Emanuil as a “visible Peter II on earth. This led to an actual break between the regular Ukrainian Catholics and the *Pokutnyky* sect”.⁵¹⁸

The Roman Catholic Church as technically any religious denomination/representative of the religion also could not feel comfortable at all, and was seen as something absolutely hostile to the Soviet ideology.⁵¹⁹ It was clearly distinguished from the Greek-Catholicism and its traditions, it was understood as the direct representative of the Vatican, but it did not represent any other Soviet republic except for Lithuania, in every other part of the USSR, the RCC was part of the local Polish communities, which were almost non-existent after the WWII on the Soviet territories. In chapter three it was discussed that Ukraine [and particularly its western parts] contained a lot of ethnic Polish communities, all of them being Roman Catholic, but the situation changed when most of them were resettled to Poland in the later 1940s. The largest Roman Catholic community after the World War was living in the Soviet Republic of Lithuania, which unlike Poland was fully incorporated into the Soviet Union.

IX

Helsinki Groups. The Generation of 1960s

The Roman Catholic Church in Lithuania was known to cooperate with the Lithuanian Helsinki Group [the one which was established by the political activists in the midst of 1970s all over the Soviet Republics; [Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Moscow Helsinki Group etc.], to watch over the implementation of the Helsinki Accords that were signed by the Soviet Union.⁵²⁰ At this point the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was seeking the same goal as its friends in Lithuania, asked for the freedom of religion and conscience, the underground UGCC was certainly on the side of this establishment as much as the RCC in Lithuania. Generally, more could be said about such a phenomenon as *shestidesiatniki* (generation of the 1960s in the Soviet Union), however, the given work is not principally focusing upon this quite separate topic, but primarily on the Church issues. Nevertheless, such people as Josyf Terelya or many activists, dissidents from the Helsinki Groups, and other organizations have belonged to this generation. Russian writer Masha Gessen is well describing the notion,

The year 1965 saw the arrest of two writers, Andrei Siniavsky and Yuli Daniel, who had published, who had published their works abroad, as Pasternak had done before them. They were sentenced to five-and seven-year prison terms. One after another, these arrests, and trials

⁵¹⁸ Sabrina Petra Ramet, *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*, (Duke University Press, 1989) at p. 156.

⁵¹⁹ Steven Merritt Miner, *Stalin’s Holy War: Religion, Nationalism, and Alliance Politics, 1941-1945*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2003) at p. 178.

⁵²⁰ Daniel Charles Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism*, (Princeton University Press, 2001) at p. 164.

signaled first the limits and then the end of the Thaw. The magical era ended as quickly as it had begun. But not before it had shaped the *shestidesiatniki generation*, given birth to samizdat - underground self-publishing - and reinvigorated the free world. The Thaw shaped the post-World War II incarnation of intelligentsia, a new generation beholden to the power of the World and saddled with the burden of responsibility for the fate of the country. After the Thaw was over, some of the *shestidesiatniki*, like Larisa Bogoraz and Sergei Kovaliov, went on to form the dissident movement - rather, the small groups of like-minded courageous discontents that produced the illusion of ongoing organized activity. They lost their jobs, stood trial, went to prison, and into internal exile, and by the late 1970s and early 1980s more and more of them were being forced to emigrate.⁵²¹

This very talented and romantic generation made a difference in the Soviet Union and in the West too during the 1960s. A clear example of a *shestidesiatnik* in Ukraine alone was Vyacheslav Chornovil, a cultural figure, dissident, human rights activist, and originally a Communist youth member. It seems that many people from that particular time wanted to break out, find out more truth, rediscover something that was hidden from them and use it to make a change. In 1966 he was sent to Lviv in order to observe and report [at that time he was working on Kyiv radio and television] about a trial of cultural activists, but turned out against it and began his own protest.⁵²² Eventually, he was arrested and sentenced to three years in prison in 1967 and later again in 1972 until 1979 [six years plus exile settlement]. In 1979 he became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and in 1980 was arrested again. *Ukrainskii Visnyk* [Ukrainian Herald] was edited by him between 1967 and 1972, its major aim was to report on human right violations to the world public and inside the country [samizdat issue].⁵²³ In 1988 he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Union during *perestroika*. Further on Chornovil played a major political role in the late 1980s and 90s. Such people were prominent and wanted action, therefore, they have marked the whole generation - *shestidesiatniki*, children of the Khrushchev's Thaw and the wind of post-1953 changes, which happened in the Soviet Union.

X

Catholic Church in Lithuania. Father Svarinskas and others

Issues with the Greek-Catholics were continuing and common problems were in many ways uniting the cause of the Catholic Church of both Rites, and these dissident groups were in full support of the Vatican's anti-Communist position, especially under John Paul II, who was promoting the freedom of conscience. Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj did make some important contacts with Lithuanian Roman Catholic clergymen while being incarcerated or exiled in the 1950s, he knew that they ended up in Siberia for the same reason, and their eventual cause is the same. After all they have represented the same Church, merely of two different ritualistic traditions. Also, it should be noted that after the WWII, Lithuanian anti-Soviet dissent was

⁵²¹ Masha Gessen, *Dead Again: The Russian Intelligentsia After Communism*, (Verso, 1997) at pp. 12-13.

⁵²² Wojcieh Roszkowski, Jan Kofman, *Biographical Dictionary of Central and Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, (Routledge, 2016) at p. 1896.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, at p. 1897.

similar to one in western Ukraine, it was militant and did not want to collaborate with any kind of Communist authority nearly until the mid of 1950s, this factor somehow always united Ukraine and Lithuania, which remain to be close allies today. In his memoirs, Josyf Slipyj recalls the moment when he began to know many Lithuanian Catholic priests, particularly Alfonsas Svarinskas, a famous dissident who spent years in the Soviet labor camps and jails.

From Lithuanians there were: Father Ravda, Father Svarinskas, Father Balciunas, Father Raciunas, and Father Markevicius - Jesuit. From Poles: Father Kulczinski, Father Drzepecki, one more, and one Romanian. In that camp there were no swears, no curses, no stealings, and it was already a lot. Once I became sick and weakened because of pneumonia. Doctor put me into the full-time department, but in two days the guard threw me out with 39 degrees of fever. I was laying in the barrack and Father Svarinskas - medical assistant brought me antibiotics from Father Raciunas (Congregation of Marian Fathers), which he received from his mother in America. This way I somehow thanks to God became exalted.⁵²⁴

Certainly such things cannot be forgotten, they vividly show the level of mutual respect and understanding, particularly in the place where nobody can be trusted, and who knows how many discussions these Catholic clergymen had (when it was possible) about life, death, and their Church. Josyf Slipyj really wanted to take Father Svarinskas with him in 1962 to Rome, however, it was impossible, and the Soviet authorities denied the latter any possibility to follow the Metropolitan to the West. Here is what the *appendix* to Slipyj's memoirs say about the relations between Svarinskas and the head of the UGCC in the following years.

Svarinskas had completed his sentence in 1964 and returned back to Lithuania, where he served the parish in Vidukli village and was the founder and an active member of the Committee for the defence of believers' rights. Metropolitan Slipyj kept correspondence with him until the end of life. After finding out about the arrest of Svarinskas in 1983, Josyf Slipyj had immediately written a letter of solidarity to the brothers-Lithuanians, calling Svarinskas "the glory of the Lithuanian Catholic Church and its people", and comparing his loyalty to him in the jail to the loyalty of Titus to the Paul. Svarinskas was sentenced to seven years in prison and three years of exile. The term was spent in the Perm labor camps. In the summer of 1988 he was paroled and freed following the US President Ronald Reagan's petition, after which he went abroad (it was the condition of freedom).⁵²⁵

After the fall of the USSR, he went back to independent Lithuania, and always remembered Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, in 1992 he participated in the transfer of the remains of his respected friend to Ukraine [Lviv].

⁵²⁴ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, ed. by Ivan Datsko, Maria Goryacha, (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv-Rome, 2014) at pp. 224-225., [translated by me].

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 378-379., [translated by me].

XI

General Position of the Roman Catholics after 1945. Father Bronislaw Drzepecki.

Even though the institution of the Roman Catholic Church was not de-legalized in the USSR [not merely in Lithuania; it was noted before that many Greek-Catholics used to visit the Latin Rite churches in Ukraine], still any kind of political activism, which included the pro-freedom or-pro human rights movement in the Church could lead to persecutions among its clergy. All the above-mentioned priests, who spent time in the Mordovian labor camps together with Jozef Slipyj all were anti-Communist and seek freedom to Lithuania and more freedom to the Roman Catholic practices. Exactly the same process was going on around the totally forbidden Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, which was not hiding its religious perspectives since the Metropolitanate of Andrei Sheptytsky. Collaboration between the groups of similar faith and status inside the society, which causes oppressions is natural, and Lithuanian-Ukrainian ecclesiastical friendly co-existence may be well seen from the examples taken from Jozef Slipyj's biography. Polish priests mentioned by the Metropolitan were also Roman Catholics and did not accept the fact that their Church [even though it was not forbidden by the law, including Poland] is commanded by the atheistic government in both countries. For example, the biography of Father Bronislaw Drzepecki was typical to the Polish priest, who was serving his community in Ukraine, however, did not accept the arrival of the Soviet authority and began to make a stand against it. Particularly Drzepecki had experienced the illegal service while spending one of his sentences for the 'anti-Soviet activities' in Kazakhstan because even though the Latin Rite was legal, it was not for such priests as him, and certainly not without the coordination with local political authorities.⁵²⁶ He was also arrested [as the majority of Greek-Catholic priests] in 1945 and sentenced to ten years in Vorkuta labor camps, the ground reason for these persecutions was not in the denominational disposition, but for his denial of the Communist rule, and then so-called 'illegal missionary activities' and 'anti-Soviet propaganda'. Here both Catholic Rites were suffering the same faith of resistance to the oppressive, anti-theistic system, which did not want to coexist peacefully with any religion or confession on equal terms.

XII

Lack of possibilities for the UGCC until the end of the 1980s

Could the illegal formations/underground structures of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church hope for any kind of admission from the Soviet government? Most likely it was totally impossible due to the general position of this denomination, which was extremely inconvenient to the regime in almost every aspect; it was advocating religious practices, non-Communist [and did not want to collaborate with the authorities], searched for additional ways to unite Orthodoxy with the Vatican for a long time, and certainly since Andrei Sheptytsky was setting

⁵²⁶ Marek A. Koprowski, *Przez Stepy Kazachstanu*, (Gosc Niedzielny, 2002) at p. 5.

such goal.⁵²⁷ Technically all of these three arguments were not in coherence with Marxism-Leninism, and the last one was also going against an idea of the ‘Orthodox empire’, and could not be accepted by the pre-Soviet government too. Moreover, the fact that the system was so bitterly suppressing the Church, traditional to so many western Ukrainians and devotedly kept as the clandestine ideological base for the legalization movement, simply could not allow the believers to suddenly turn in the pro-Soviet direction. It would not happen even if the Soviet government and the Communist Party had suddenly decided to somehow legalize the underground UGCC. It was always as water and fire, two entities that cannot be together, despite all the odds, plus neither side ever wanted to find a way to appeasement due to these absolutely opposite differences of their positions. The underground Church continued to exist until the end of the 1980s, when the regime became very weak and literally was not able to suppress it anymore as it could not carry on in every aspect of itself too. The underground existence really saved the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine, first because of its well-organized structure, determination, good leadership, and strong support from the diaspora. The latter factor will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapter because without it the UGCC in Ukraine [behind the Iron Curtain] would probably never survive, at least in its contemporary form. The Greek-Catholic Church in diaspora was a driving force behind the underground movement, it gave an additional air of hope for the future, especially after Metropolitan-Patriarch Josyf Slipyj came to Rome and began to organize it for the advantage of diaspora and the clandestine structure in Ukraine.⁵²⁸ Cooperation with the dissident movements all over the USSR and other suppressed religious organizations gave more help to the underground Greek-Catholic structure and was yet another factor, which helped it to survive until 1989. The underground Liturgy first carried out by the priests, second supported by the people, and third assisted by all other factors that surrounded the organization [particularly the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic tradition abroad led by Josyf Slipyj, after his arrival to Rome] made it’s survival possible.

Diaspora

The UGCC was legal in the outside of the Soviet Union. Josyf Slipyj has continued his activities to organize diaspora, and structure of the Church. His mission abroad was set to preserve the UGCC in diaspora, and therefore, not let it disappear or fall apart.

I

Geographic Origins of Diaspora

The factor of diaspora in survival of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, and its connection to the events within the Catholic community in general was already mentioned

⁵²⁷ Christopher Lawrence Zuger, *The Forgotten: Catholics of the Soviet Empire from Lenin Through Stalin*, (Syracuse University Press, 2001) at p. 99.

⁵²⁸ *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.65.-Case. S-9113.-Vol.19.-p. 185-189. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.65.-Спр. С-9113.-Т.19.-Арк. 185-185].*

before in the context of other chapters of the study. This chapter is going to analyze the phenomenon of diaspora as the separate entity, when did it start, how it spread around many countries in the world, and particularly how it carried the Greek-Catholic tradition. In other words, a part of the diaspora which belonged to Greek-Catholics will be studied with more attention than the Orthodox one, however, the whole Ukrainian community abroad should be discussed because all of it was closely related, regardless of the denomination or particular area.

The Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine was primarily spread around Galician and Transcarpathian regions, and most of the immigration waves were particularly from there too, especially starting from the end of the eighteenth hundreds, when poverty began to overlap Austrian Galicia. It happened despite the fact that the latter was very rich in oil and supposedly could turn it into one of the most prosperous regions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but internal policies turned it the other way around, thus, it became the poorest in the country.⁵²⁹ The economic situation was difficult, Ukrainian-Galician peasants faced the lack of future and began to follow the steps of their Irish contemporaries, who were actually in a similar position in the United Kingdom. Often these immigration waves are compared to one another because both regions were considered to be the poorest in that day Europe, despite the fact that Irish and Ukrainians lived under the cap of two mighty and influential states with already well-industrialized economies. The following words may sound ironic, particularly to the region, which provided so many immigrants to the United States and Canada because of internal poverty, however, it is true.

In the nineteenth century, engineers, social critics, and literati often referred to the Galician oil basin as an “eastern European Pennsylvania.” The comparison was apt - serious exploitation of the oil fields of Pennsylvania and Galicia began at about the same time, and the material and social conditions of Galicia’s oil towns were reminiscent Titusville or Oil City.⁵³⁰

The reasons for that first wave of immigration from the Ukraine’s West, which created the original, and mainly Greek-Catholic Ukrainian diaspora in the North and South Americas will not be studied in detail because it’s not the main subject, but they are important to understand. This early industrial ‘oil rush’ did not influence most of the population, which was rural, overweight with taxes, and in debt.

In addition to court costs and taxes, there were young children christened and older children to be wed, relatives to be buried and feast days to be celebrated. Feeding and clothing families in the long winters, after bad harvests also depleted resources. To cover costs, peasants borrowed money. In some regions of Galicia in the 1870s, nearly 90 percent of the population was in debt.⁵³¹

⁵²⁹ Alison Fleig Frank, *Oil Empire: Visions of Prosperity in Austrian Galicia*, (Harvard University Press, 2009) at p. 47.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵³¹ Jaroslav Petryshyn, Luba Dzubak, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians*, (James Lorimer & Company, 1985) at pp. 30-31.

This was the general picture of what took place in that area during the later period of the eighteenth hundreds, and what caused the people of Galicia to emigrate - certainly the Greek-Catholic tradition and all the varieties of cultural traits associated with it also went with them to the New World. What would happen to the Greek-Catholic tradition in the Soviet Ukraine if this first, purely economic immigration wave did not start in the 1870s? It was the beginning of diaspora, which became an important factor, the base in the West. This wave of immigrants in one way or another paved the way for another, mainly political waves that took place in the later decades, also from the western Ukraine, and as the first one, they carried with them the Greek-Catholic faith too. Eventually, each new exodus from Galicia, Transcarpathia [Zakarpattya], Bukovina, and Volhynia [this region was not primarily Greek-Catholic, except for a small percent of the population] formed a strong pro-Ukrainian lobby in the West, primarily in the United States and Canada, and within it, the pro-Greek-Catholic position. This factor is very important to understand because it influenced Ukraine from afar, and of course, it did assist the Greek-Catholic Church. For example, every letter of information about the persecutions, which crossed the border into Europe, or the United States went into the hands of diaspora representatives and soon could end up in the hands of Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan. It had never reached the level of influence as the one of Irish in America, however, it was relatively strong and noticeable, particularly when the Cold War started, and various circles in the West turned to them for assistance [and generally were recognized by the political figures or parties].⁵³² Certainly, not merely the matters of the Greek-Catholic Church [or any other organization based on religion or political envisioning] were in focus of attention from the diaspora circles, but this study (chapter) shall concentrate on Ukrainian diaspora and the Greek-Catholic tradition.

II

Where and When did the Emigration Waves Leave? Early Diaspora Status.

For more than a century of existing outside of Ukraine, different waves of emigration did face the whole variety of issues that made it pro-democratic in its core values [believing in building a similar system in Ukraine as in North America], simply nowadays this is difficult to imagine that the diaspora would not defend the integrity of the Greek-Catholic Church, pro-Western position of the country, and basic pluralism [particularly when it came to the freedom of conscience], etc.

For the Ukrainian diaspora, which had supported state independence since World War I, it became of utmost importance to preserve the integrity of independent Ukraine.⁵³³

⁵³² Ronald Reagan, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1987*, (Best Books, 1989) at p. 867.

⁵³³ ed. Rainer Bauböck, Thomas Faist, *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, an article by Maria Koinova, *Diasporas and international politics: Utilising the universalistic creed of liberalism for particularistic and nationalist purposes*, (Amsterdam University Press, 2010) at p. 162.

It can be explained by a few reasons, first the diaspora was formed in the democratic countries, and as it was said before, primarily in the United States and Canada. Second, it was born out of problems in the homeland, people of Galicia, for example, were struggling to make a better living in the territory, which they did not really control on their own. After 1917 not only Galicians or Bukovinians but Ukrainians from other regions began to escape the growing forces of Bolshevism and certainly wanted to see their future lives in the democratic societies with the long tradition of immigration into them. During the 1870s and 1920s, there was a lot of emigration to Argentina and Western Europe (not only North America) at that time, and many years to come those countries were not known for too many violations of the human rights [the situation changed further in the twentieth century].⁵³⁴ In other words, those Ukrainians who ended up in the foreign lands were supposed to grow into local customs, plus they were struggling for the variety of issues in their country and knew the price of such a struggle. Therefore, they would not choose to cooperate with any totalitarian regime, which tried to occupy their territory, there were some exceptions in this principle, but not really in the diaspora; possibly some may argue that Ukrainians abroad [and inside of Ukraine] did seek for co-existence with the Germans during WWII. However, these were sporadic interests of some political groups that wanted to revenge the Communists, and hoped to gain the degree of independence [under the German cap], particularly this issue was thoroughly discussed during the previous chapters about the Nazi and first Soviet occupations.⁵³⁵ An overall amount of diaspora, and the one which was loyal to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church seemed to be on the side of pro-American/Canadian [particularly later during the Cold War] for a long time, and did not see any other option, but Ukraine. Pro-Leftist views did exist among Ukrainian-Canadians before the World War II, but this political orientation did not really persist later.

Few, if any, of the postwar refugee immigrants even considered joining the pro-Soviet Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. Indeed, during the late 1940s and early 1950s many of the political refugees would play a significant role in orchestrating the precipitous decline of the Left wing of the Ukrainian Canadian community.⁵³⁶

It was made through the process of a cultural diffusion with the people, which surrounded Ukrainians in their life in diaspora, and certainly their determination to follow their ideals. It all does not mean that there was always a unity between all representatives of the diaspora, at some point, there was the division on more nationalist and more socialist-leaning sides, Greek-Catholic and Orthodox, western Ukrainians and Eastern, at the same time each immigration wave was slightly different from the previous one.⁵³⁷ Earlier study shows that historically, there was a huge split between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic traditions, both did not accept each other and accused one another of the whole variety of problems, technically with the arrival of nationalism and later pro-democratic strives, these confessional differences

⁵³⁴ Vic Satzewich, *The Ukrainian Diaspora*, (Routledge, 2003) at p. 56.

⁵³⁵ Nikolas Laskovsky, *Practicing Law in the Occupied Ukraine*, (American Slavic and East European Review II, 1952) at pp. 123-177.

⁵³⁶ Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada and the Migration of Memory*, (University of Toronto Press, 2000) at p. 225.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

began to slowly fade away. It was the major goal that became more important, freedom of religion (regardless of denomination), independence from the USSR, and certainly a wish to make Ukraine more pro-Western, the tendency, which never changed after WWII.

Similarly, the movement of Ukrainians abroad over the past 125 years has been an extraordinarily complex process that has touched all segments of society, including young and old, men and women, peasants and wage laborers, intellectuals, professionals, government officials, soldiers and members of the clergy.⁵³⁸

The latter group was not always united (Catholic - Orthodox), and for example, the Greek-Catholic Church was sometimes experiencing ecclesiastical problems in countries in which it was located, even if it was Canada where local Latin Rite Catholics sometimes saw it as the 'lower' kind of Catholics [or better to say, subordinate branch].⁵³⁹ Various issues arose from the fact that when there was a lack of Ukrainian Catholic priests [before the strong network of UGCC could be established] Polish priests were taking up their role, and it caused some traditional, old fears on the side of Ukrainian laity that it would have resulted in the 'Polonization' of their community.

A young Polish priest from Montreal, Reverend Kiliawy, was engaged to serve all Catholic Slavs there. However, many Ukrainian Catholics saw the appointment as an attempt to Polonize them and, encouraged in their rebellion by *Svoboda* and by Ukrainian Catholic priests from the United States, they broke away from the Church of Sts. Volodymyr and Olga in Winnipeg in 1901.⁵⁴⁰

It needed some time before the UGCC abroad was able to establish itself in the Ukrainian-Canadian or the Ukrainian-American community, it was necessary to find enough priests, gain more economic weight among the laymen, so they could build more churches. Technically, it was typical for any immigrant group, for example, the newly arrived Italian diaspora in New York was once using the cellar of the St. Patrick Cathedral to carry out services; the church itself belonged to the Irish community, which came in earlier and had more resources on its hands.⁵⁴¹ A similar situation was taking place among Ukrainians, however, it's community grew and the Greek-Catholic Church began to receive more support from Ukraine itself, particularly from the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, who was visiting Ukrainian [particularly Galician communities because especially at that time most of them came from there] diaspora. Basically, he somehow understood the importance of not leaving the care over the Greek-Catholic believers, who lived outside of Ukraine, probably not merely due to the fact that they were loyal to his Church, but also because he was a good cultivator of culture.⁵⁴² He knew that if he assists in establishing the stronger Greek-Catholic Church in Canada for example, then the local Ukrainian community will stay closer to its origins, shall not forget the

⁵³⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

⁵³⁹ Jaroslav Petryshyn, Luba Dzubak, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians*, p. 132.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 132.

⁵⁴¹ Frank A. Salamone, *Italians in Rochester, New York, 1900-1940*, (Edwin Mellen Press, 2000) at p. 39.

⁵⁴² Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Ukrainian Bishop, American Church: Constantine Bohachevsky and the Ukrainian Catholic Church*, (CUA Press, 2018) at pp. 97-98.

homeland, and if necessary may help it. After all, it definitely worked in the twentieth century, when more Greek-Catholic Ukrainians [and Orthodox too] found support and aid from the hands of diaspora, while being in Ukraine or when arriving as refugees and immigrants. In 1910 Andrei Sheptytsky visited Edmonton, Canada, after participating at the International Eucharistic Conference in Montreal, thus, he was not the ‘last’ person anywhere he went, his presence at this kind of ecclesiastical meetings was certainly solidifying the position of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in North America.⁵⁴³

III

Andrei Sheptytsky, UGCC Clergy and the Diaspora

This process was important in making the bridge between the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic community overseas with the same religious and cultural [heritage oriented] structures in Ukraine, it was clearly taken very seriously by Andrei Sheptytsky. It is known that this tradition of making a strong connection between two worlds persisted in the future, ties never died out along the time, and particularly the church became central to keeping the cultural heritage. Therefore, the Greek-Catholic Church [and the Ukrainian Orthodox community as well; it’s not being so well discussed in this work, but it also should be mentioned as the ‘bridge maker’] was serving the intricate value of keeping this connection, which later on was helping the Church itself, Greek-Catholics in Ukraine, served as the defender of human rights in the 1970s (Helsinki Accords), and stood for its hierarchs, which ended up in trouble. At this point it may be said that any immigrant group in the new world was constructing its own lobby, particularly it was important if this factor was successful in the United States because the latter’s influence was benefiting both sides. However, it did not take a second to establish itself.

It took almost a century for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States to grow into a recognized, separate but equal, ecclesiastical province of the Catholic Church domiciled in America.⁵⁴⁴

Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church starting with Andrei Sheptytsky was keeping its diplomatic status within the diaspora, especially when there was no independent Ukrainian state. Notably, even before Sheptytsky’s figure headed the UGCC, hierarchs as Konstantyn Chekhovych, the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Przemyśl co-worked with the Vatican to send Basilian missionaries to Canada in 1898, this move was good to make relations with the Holy See more cooperative, and at the same time it raised the status of the UGCC in Canada and within the broader Catholic world.⁵⁴⁵ It’s Metropolitans-Patriarchs [Cardinals] were truly

⁵⁴³ ed. Jim Mochoruk, Rhonda L. Hinder, *Re-imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity*, an article by Jars Balan, *The Populist Patriot: The Life and Literary Legacy of Illia Kiriak*, (University of Toronto Press, 2011) at p. 114.

⁵⁴⁴ Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Ukrainian Bishop, American Church*, at p. 486.

⁵⁴⁵ Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924*, (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991) at p. 194.

assisting the Greek-Catholic cause by making ties with politicians and figures of power in the West, specifically in the United States, Sheptytsky began this process way back after WWI when he visited Rome, Washington D.C., and many other world capitals. In 1921-23 Andrei Sheptytsky met with the American President Warren G. Harding to discuss the cause of Ukrainian foreign standing and Greek-Catholic position after the fall of two Empires, which divided it, Austro-Hungarian and Russian, but the Metropolitan did not achieve his major goals, even though the leader of the United States promised him some degree of support.⁵⁴⁶

IV

KGB Attention Toward the Diaspora

In the previous chapter it was underlined that diaspora was one of the factors behind the survival of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, and certainly played a larger role in the development of the country's Greek-Catholic community. It irritated many forces that tried to conquer or control Ukraine, the Soviet regime saw the diaspora as something that was openly assisting this factor as the outside force with which they had a hard time for a while, especially during the Cold War. Numerous Soviet-KGB archival documents witness the degree of problems that the regime was facing when it came to the Ukrainian diaspora, it certainly was the case, when above-mentioned bridge solidified by the UGCC was working with anti-Soviet agencies in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. For example, when Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was arrested and interrogated, his prosecutors were thoroughly interested in the connection between his Church and the diaspora. One of his answers about what his students were doing after the graduation, Slipyj had answered:

For a long time I was the rector of a Theological Seminary and the Academy in Lviv where I was raising the staff for the Greek-Catholic clergy in the spirit of Catholicism, disbelief in Communist ideas and materialistic teaching, in the spirit of anti-Sovietism. My students were directed to Canada, Yugoslavia and other countries where they were implementing the Vatican's policies regarding the spread of Catholicism.⁵⁴⁷

It sounds as these words were literally taken out from him under the pressure, but he was certainly raising his students in the Catholic spirit and definitely sent them to many countries where they were needed by the Vatican or most likely by the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic communities. During the Cold War [and before that] the Vatican's fight against Communism was one of its ideological aims, and the bridge between Ukraine and its diaspora [Greek-Catholic in this particular context] was very active. It was dangerous to the Soviet regime, and it always wanted to find out more about this strong and valuable connection. For this particular reason KGB was trying to infiltrate the system of the underground structures,

⁵⁴⁶ Peter Kardash, *Genocide in Ukraine*, (Fortuna Publishing, 2006) at p. 315.

⁵⁴⁷ Interrogation protocol of the Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, June 13-14, 1945. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.6.-Case. 68069-fp.-Vol.1.-pp. 231-235. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.6.-Спр. 68069-фп.-Т.1.-Арк. 231-235]*, [translated by me].

and diaspora itself, which was connected to it [clergy, monasteries, active laity] in one way or another, simply this was necessary to them in order to understand what is taking place within the UGCC. The fear of uprisings in the Ukraine's West, regions that were particularly populated by the Greek-Catholics [various Ukrainian Orthodox Church denominations abroad were also watched, but it will not be analyzed in this study], dissatisfaction on the side of the local population that could be directed or agitated by the diaspora was always part of the regime's alert. The Ukrainian [here Greek-Catholic] diaspora was certainly not staying only in the New World (US, Canada, or Argentina), but the Vatican itself, especially after the Metropolitan-Patriarch Josyf Slipyj was residing there, and possessed the high level of respect. Often the Vatican was not very clear on its policies toward the East, sometimes it tried to pacify with the Russian Orthodox Church, and therefore with the USSR, especially clear it was during the Pope Paul VI [who advocated Slipyj's release, but did not present this Church with the Patriarchal status], who did not favor more support for the UGCC during Cold War.⁵⁴⁸ Diaspora always stood on the side of Patriarch Slipyj, and vigorously criticized the policy of the current Pope, it did not want to make deals with the ROC over the Vatican's attitudes, and made a strong defense of the human rights in Ukraine (Helsinki Accords), which could be forgotten because of these political issues.⁵⁴⁹ This particular discontent between Pope Paul VI's policies and the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was often noted and monitored by KGB because for the latter it was very important not to allow better relations within the Catholic Church at that point.⁵⁵⁰ Certain unity within the Catholic camp would unquestionably cause the strengthening of already mentioned outside factor or better to say in this chapter, the 'diaspora factor' against the regime, something that was totally unwelcomed by them. The Greek-Catholic Ukrainian diaspora was considering Josyf Slipyj to be the Patriarch, the title which was not rejected by Vatican though, but to the first it was absolutely necessary to proclaim the Patriarchate in order to solidify the position of underground structures in Ukraine, and of course have more influence outside of Ukraine. This status would give more independence to the UGCC, give it larger authority in the Catholic world and increase some pressure on the Soviet government regardless of the contemporary Vatican's policy. In the 1960s and 70s this was the most vigorous area of concentration among the UGCC bishops, laymen on one hand, and the KGB on the other [when it came to the question about Ukraine in the Soviet Union or the Greek-Catholics themselves]. KGB and particularly its branch in Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic were closely watching the process of talks between Josyf Slipyj backed by diaspora and the Pope, who once again was reluctant to accept anything that was seriously damaging his *Ostpolitik*.

⁵⁴⁸ Aidan Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches: A Study in Schism*, (Ignatius Press, 2010) at p. 343.

⁵⁴⁹ Alexander Lushnycky, *Ukrainians of Greater Philadelphia*, (Arcadia Publishing, 2007) at p. 95.

⁵⁵⁰ From the information note made by KGB under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine about another Vatican's rejection to create the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, March 22, 1974. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register. 4 (year 1977).-Case. 7.-pp. 32-37. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.4 (1977).-Сп. 7.-Арк. 32-37.]*

Pope Paul VI had reacted in a roughly negative way to the undertakings of SLIPYJ. According to him, the strive of SLIPYJ to establish the Ukrainian Patriarchate is led not by the Church motives, but by political ones, which are standing against the Vatican's position.⁵⁵¹

V

Varieties of Diaspora and Immigration Waves

The Ukrainian diaspora was different depending on the wave of immigrants, on the country to which they came, and many other larger or smaller factors. Eventually, the whole idea of the above-mentioned determination to bring freedom to the land that the immigrants have left was growing stronger, especially with the post-WWII influx. Previous groups were mainly based on economic reasons [with the exception of the post-WWI wave, which was highly influenced by politics], for example, those Galicians who were experiencing problems in the Austro-Hungary left for the New World over exactly these reasons. After WWII most of the Ukrainian immigrants [later 1940s, 1950s wave] were seriously hoping to come back as soon as possible, they simply did not believe that the Communist occupation of Eastern Europe would last for so long.

With their new freedom, they were not about to assimilate under any conditions. They came to Philadelphia with practically nothing, but the firm hope that their stay would be very short. Wholeheartedly they believed that Ukraine would be free within 5 to 15 years, and then they could return home.⁵⁵²

This factor gave a lot of determination behind everything that was to follow, the diaspora was highly involved in the political life, which could be connected to the affairs of their country behind the Iron Curtain, they preserved their religion and culture, various matters of the Greek-Catholic or the Orthodox Ukrainian churches turned into places where culture and heritage were preserved. It helped the Greek-Catholic Church abroad gain more support from the diaspora, make it more politically motivated in order not to forget their ancestral homeland, the matters of human rights there, unfair persecutions of the Church itself, and certainly see the Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj as their ambassador to the rest of the world. At this point the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church [or simply the Ukrainian Catholic Church as it is widely known in North America] had more ground than the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches due to the *internal unity*, the Orthodox tradition was not less spread within the diaspora [and for most of the time did not divide the community, politically or socially, both denominations were more close than apart], however, there were issues with the international Orthodox recognition.

⁵⁵¹ From the informative report by KGB under the Soviet of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on misunderstandings between the Vatican and Ukrainian Catholic Church in regards to the establishment of the UGCC Patriarchate. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register. 3 (1976).-Case. 3.-pp. 167-172. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.3 (1977).-Сп. 3.-Арк. 167-172.]*, [translated by me].

⁵⁵² Alexander Lushnycky, *Ukrainians of Greater Philadelphia*, p. 47.

These churches had a hard time cooperating with one another. Each had its own leaders, and their goals and personalities often clashed. The most influential Orthodox Church, based in Constantinople, Turkey, also failed to assist by recognizing these churches. Because of this, the Ukrainian Orthodox faith in America remained weak and divided.⁵⁵³

It was very important to unite the diaspora through the church issues because as was noted above, it became the place where culture and heritage were preserved. If the culture was alive in the hearts and minds of the diaspora people, then there was more determination to support their religion, its leaders, and their wishes to support an underground Greek-Catholics, possibly arrange meetings between the Orthodox and Catholic Ukrainian communities, bring everyone together and think together about how the whole diaspora can assist the 'Ukrainian political or religious cause'. Certainly, the Ukrainian community worldwide, regardless of its denomination was truly united by the effort of Metropolitan-Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, his achievements in solidifying all sorts of matters inside the diaspora were really outstanding. Until today he is equally respected by the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic believers in Ukraine and in the rest of the world where Ukrainians live, and for this reason is sometimes called 'Moses' of the community, particularly after his arrival from the Soviet jails.⁵⁵⁴ This epithet in one way or another witnesses the reality of what was taking place in the diaspora life, and how this particular person influenced it, especially during the Cold War era. It was obvious that the archiepiscopal status that was granted to UGCC in 1963 was not enough, and also the status of the Major Archbishop, which was granted to Josyf Slipyj [and therefore to the following Metropolitans] could not satisfy the needs of diaspora, its ambitions to build a larger and more independent Greek-Catholic Church were much higher.⁵⁵⁵ It was already underlined that the title of Patriarch was allowed by the Vatican, but used mainly by the UGCC without possessing the real *patriarchal status* that was supposed to spread through the whole organization and elevate it.⁵⁵⁶ It did not happen during the underground, Cold War period and until today the question of such a change in the status of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church is still hanging in the air, but not without hopes in Ukraine and abroad. Particularly during that era the diaspora was seeking more support to the underground UGCC structure in Ukraine, and of course, needed a larger or wider authority among itself, the Greek-Catholic community within the Ukrainian diaspora was truly looking for the strengthening of its religious institutional structure. Therefore, it was so unsatisfied with the position of Josyf Slipyj in Rome during the pontificate of Pope Paul VI, the Ukrainian community (not merely the Catholic part of it) really felt that he needs to be treated way better, and gain more ecclesiastical support from the Holy See.

⁵⁵³ John Radzilowski, *Ukrainian Americans*, (Infobase Publishing, 2007) at p. 79.

⁵⁵⁴ Peter Galadza, *The Theology and Liturgical Work of Andrei Sheptytsky (1865-1944)*, (Pontificio Instituto Orientale, 2004) at p. 416.

⁵⁵⁵ Matthew Bunson, *The Catholic Almanac's Guide to the Church*, (Our Sunday Visitor Publishing, 2001) at p. 140.

⁵⁵⁶ Stephanie Mahieu, Vlad Naumescu, *Churches In-between: Greek-Catholic Churches in Postsocialist Europe*, an article by Maria Horiacha and Svitlana Hurkana, *Ukraine*, (LIT Verlag Münster, 2008) at pp. 132-133.

VI

Social Life of the Diaspora

In this retrospect, it should be noted how the Ukrainian diaspora [particularly it is Greek-Catholic part] managed to get closer to the social life of those countries in which it was supposed to live. *After all, if one shares something that is also valid and truthful to many others in the unknown area of the world, then that one will definitely get more familiar with the place and that particular society.* Ukrainian Greek-Catholics became involved in the overall Catholic life of the United States, for example, even if not all of them actually planned to integrate but longed for their homeland and kept the tradition merely to return to Ukraine. In the 1950s the Ukrainian Catholic Youth Convention sent its members to visit the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception [1955], there is no question that such a move was getting the young representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora closer to let's say Irish-Americans of the same age.⁵⁵⁷ Any ethnic community outside of its original homeland is usually getting more authority and pro-lobby oriented abilities only if it makes the integration process more effective, otherwise it becomes secluded without understanding what to do or how to contact anyone, who possesses power in that particular state. For example, in the United States, various political issues in and out of the country were literally protected by the ideas or actions set up by the diaspora community. In October, 1983 locally formed The National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine from 1932-1933 was able to organize a rally and march [eighteen thousand participants were able to visit] in Washington D.C., thus, showing the force and capabilities of the diaspora.⁵⁵⁸ The real importance of such activities was absolutely crucial, first of all, it gave hopes to those among diaspora, who lived abroad, they truly needed this internal support, and second many in Ukraine, especially in the underground UGCC or merely the dissident movement felt this support and grew more optimistic about its future. Historian and publicist Catherine Wanner did know this issue of lobbyism and the importance of this factor by saying that the Ukrainian diaspora circles managed to create it in America.

In addition to symposia, monuments, and publications, the diaspora community successfully lobbied for the formation of a U.S. congressional commission to study the Famine. In April, 1988, the commission issued a report indicting Stalin and his cruel policies for the loss of seven to ten million Ukrainians.⁵⁵⁹

This particular example of successful lobbyist programs portrays the movement as the one which could make a difference, and even though the quote above, mentioned something that is not directly connected to the UGCC issue, still it focuses in the direction that is discussed in this work. It was certainly oriented toward the issues in Ukraine, genocidal policies

⁵⁵⁷ Thomas A. Tweed, *American's Church: The National Shrine and Catholic Presence in the Nation's Capital*, (Oxford University Press, 2011) at p. 120.

⁵⁵⁸ Catherine Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in the Post-Soviet Ukraine*, (Penn State Press, 2010) at pp. 43-44.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

organized by Stalin and the Communist Party, basically everything that was against the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic tradition too. Diaspora was this additional factor behind the survival of the UGCC, and possibly without its involvement, particular ability to preserve the tradition abroad [totally protecting it from the Soviet pressure] made this organization the way it can be observed today. It was not the only force behind the UGCC's survivalism, but it played a huge role in doing so, it assisted the whole array of issues that spread all over the world and definitely reached the believers in Ukraine. Eventually, the only place where the Greek-Catholic clergy could function in the open, its leadership possessed the ability to exist without hiding, and use help from the fellow Ukrainians nearby was outside of the Soviet Ukraine. Josyf Slipyj would have not survived in the USSR until 1984, his freedom came from the West with the diaspora assistance, which could find enough support from the US President John F. Kennedy, who was on the side of human rights and additionally was the only Catholic executive leader in the American history. He cared for the fact that he must do something to assist the Ukrainian Catholic community and its leader, who was incarcerated in the Siberian jail/labor camps without any hope to get out. The freedom came with assistance from the diaspora community, which was setting up the goal of somehow taking their Metropolitan away from the hands of the Soviet political persecutory system, it was very important and extremely complicated in the early 1960s. Journalist Norman Cousins was defending the diaspora wishes in his private contacts with Khrushchev himself, and played the role of the negotiator between the Vatican, US administration, and Kremlin, thus, helped to free Josyf Slipyj.⁵⁶⁰

VII

Secretaries Mykola Pidhorny, Petro Shelest and the Diaspora Issues

The power of diaspora, which was working on the side of UGCC in Ukraine and abroad was noted by Josyf Slipyj in his letter to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Mykola Pidhorny [Nikolai Podgorny in Russian] in 1961 [before the Metropolitan's release, so the letter was another way to negotiate some rights for the Greek-Catholic Church when he was considered a prisoner without any legal rights]. Here are some excerpts from that strong and diplomatic message.

It is no secret children that behind the border there are nearly 550 million and a few hundred millions of not-united Orthodox, Old Catholics and Protestants (and there are more believers than non-believers!) almost in every country, and all of them pray for us, the sufferers, sympathize with us and are happy to help with anything. Behind the border with any opportunity the question [the case of UGCC] is being placed on the negotiation table, it's not disappearing from the newspaper columns and is not getting silenced on the radio and TV screens, etc.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶⁰ Frank J. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy Since 1789*, (Longman, 1998) at p. 217.

⁵⁶¹ Josyf Slipyj, *Memoirs*, ed. by Ivan Datsko, Maria Goryacha. A letter [complaint] of Josyf Slipyj to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Mykola Pidhorny, January, 1961, (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv-Rome, 2014) at p. 407., [translated by me].

He was clearly pointing out that the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church is not alone, and the matter of the foreign affair in this particular case, according to the Metropolitan it was not merely the diaspora, which was dealing with this question, but the whole world of believers regardless of their denomination. Here is another quote from the same letter, which once more points out the significance of the ‘bridge’ between UGCC in the underground and abroad.

When our Church was prohibited and the Metropoly was liquidated, immediately there was created the separate Metropoly of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the United States, and maybe another one will be established in Canada.⁵⁶²

The outside factor [in many ways was regulated and raised by Ukrainians abroad] was very important to Josyf Slipyj and as his predecessor Andrei Sheptytsky, he cared for it, particularly when talking to the Soviet authorities. Moreover, Mykola Pidhorny [less than his successor Petro Shelest though, who had clearly pro Ukrainian language and *partial* cultural revivalist stance during the late Khrushchev and early Brezhnev era] was famous for his ‘pro-Ukrainian’ position in the Communist Party [including its Moscow central branch], he was not defending the independence movement at all, but made the CC CPU in Kyiv more self-sufficient from the central office or better to say made it more influential in Moscow.⁵⁶³ This detail was certainly taken into a consideration by Josyf Slipyj, he wanted to somehow get his ideas closer to the Soviet leadership to lessen the pressure against his Church, however, with little hope to actually make a difference. It was certainly impossible to make people like Pidhorny or Khrushchev suddenly decide to legalize the UGCC, make better relations with the West, start implementing the free-market reforms, protect human rights, etc. After reading Josyf Slipyj’s message to Pidhorny it seems clear that the latter did not really care for the content, it was written in an intelligent, historical language, very hostile to the Soviet rule and with reliance on foreign help, which according to Slipyj certainly existed and was standing against everything that Communist authorities did in Ukraine (and did against the UGCC’s cause). Everything that Josyf Slipyj hoped for, at least it seems this way after reading the message, was his attempt to be heard, he tried to remind everyone that he is alive, and cares for the UGCC despite his prison sentence. The factor of diaspora and the world opinion was necessary to mention because it was something that at least could have organized some political pressure on the Soviet leaders.

The factor of diaspora as the strongest outside influence on the matters of the underground Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church during the Soviet period was important to talk about. It clearly made the focus of attention to the matters of Ukrainian internal issues in combination with the human rights and the freedom of the UGCC more serious in the world. Most likely this Church would survive without its help, however, it would not be the same today if there was no such assistance, certain traditions, clerical and laymen unity could be lost by now. The Ukrainian diaspora worldwide, especially if it belonged to the UGCC cared for and supported its structures in Ukraine and abroad, created a positive atmosphere for the legalization, which

⁵⁶² Ibid., p. 407., [translated by me].

⁵⁶³ Hans-Joachim Torke, John-Paul Himka, *German-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective*, (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1994) at p. 201.

took place in the late 1980s, and helped to preserve the organization's institutional formation during the most complicated times.

Legalization of the Church

This chapter discusses the late 1980s when Perestroika and Glasnost took foot in the Soviet Union. The process was not as quick, authorities did not have great wishes to immediately legalize the UGCC. The structure preserved and saved by Andrei Sheptytsky and Josyf Slipyj [including their closest followers] did survive and was able to re-emerge in 1989.

I

UGCC in the mid-80s

As it was already noted in the previous chapters the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was surviving on three major factors, laymen who wanted to preserve it, clergy which did not unite with the Russian Orthodox Church and refused to cooperate with the Soviet state, and the foreign factor represented by the diaspora, including Vatican's influence. By the 1980s there was no technical hope that the UGCC will ever get legalized by the Communist authorities because it could not accept this organization's ecclesiastical and political position; there was no point of agreement in literally any direction. The only way it could get out from the underground existence was some change in the Soviet political and social doctrines, more maneuverability in the systematic approach to what was taking place in the USSR and the world closer to the 1980s. Many scholars have discussed numerous reasons why the Soviet Union began to crumble, and why its ideology was not capable to carry on into the twenty first century, so in this particular study these reasons will not be thoroughly discussed, however, they should get mentioned in the retrospect to legalization of the UGCC.⁵⁶⁴ Everything what is going to be discussed in this chapter will be related to the topic of legalization, and to all the major questions set up at the beginning of this study. How did everything that was done during the previous decades [primarily after 1946] influenced the legalization process in the Soviet Union's latest years, thus, this is going to be the major subject [matter of discussion] in a given chapter.

⁵⁶⁴ See Philip Hanson, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Economy: An Economic History of the USSR 1945-1991*, (Routledge, 2014). The broader topic of the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union are well discussed in this study.

II

Overestimation of the Early Perestroika Effort. ROC and UGCC.

Certain liberalization, which began with the emergence of *Perestroika* and Mikhail Gorbachev's policies toward human rights and the freedom of conscience was definitely overestimated by many in the West, it was forced by the economic situation and failure of the Soviet version of socialism.⁵⁶⁵ There were no official talks in the Central Committee or anywhere else in the corridors of power in Kremlin to ease the position of UGCC, at least not until 1988/89, although earlier plans to somehow make a deal with this organization could exist, and they will be searched in this analysis. Generally, the feel of what may come soon [the fall of the system] was in the air, and it touched the ecclesiastical sphere in the Soviet Union, particularly it spread into relations between different branches of the Orthodoxy in Ukraine and the underground Greek-Catholics, who were already expecting some changes in the future. Political and social discourse was introduced by Gorbachev, even if he remained on the side of Communism (and never resigned his views at least until his downfall in 1991), and this tendency of public discussions, no matter how limited they could be, still they were influencing the religious climate.⁵⁶⁶ In the case of legalization, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church would unquestionably trying to reclaim its material possessions in the form of church buildings, former theological institutions such as Lviv Theological Academy, infrastructure, etc. Therefore, these expectations of the possible change were brewing some degree of tension between the Russian Orthodox Church, the UGCC in the underground, which still had no voice before 1989, and yet another possibility of creation of the Orthodox Churches in Ukraine that would be free from the Moscow Patriarchate.

The Orthodox churches disputed the legacy of Orthodoxy in Ukraine among themselves and against the re-legalized Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC). The 'reviving' UGCC had its foundation in underground structures, and it grew with substantial help from the Ukrainian diaspora and the conversion of Orthodox priests and parishes. It began to develop mostly in western Ukraine, alongside the emerging national movement, and became the major church of that region.⁵⁶⁷

This citation is showing the detail about denominational divisions that began to take place later in the early 1990s, when the UGCC was already legal, however, it was based on the issues that formed way before it. Neither denominational group wanted to give in to the other side, and certainly it was supposed to worry the official ROC in the mid and late 1980s when the possibility of legalization of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics was standing at the doorstep, there was the taste of problems that ROC would experience if formerly suppressed organization would return for its historical position in the region [mainly three administrative regions in

⁵⁶⁵ Mart Laar, *The Power of Freedom: Central and Eastern Europe after 1945*, (Unitas Foundation, 2011) at p. 120.

⁵⁶⁶ Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, (Oxford University Press, 1996) at p. 127.

⁵⁶⁷ C. M. Hann, *The Postsocialist Religious Question: Faith and Power in Central Asia and East-Central Europe*, an article by Vlad Naumescu, *Religious Pluralism and the Imagined Orthodoxy of Western Ukraine*, (LIT, Verlag Münster, 2006) at p. 245.

Galicia]. Even in the 1940s when the UGCC was prohibited, some representatives of its former clergy [for example, Gavriil Kostelnyk, who was a major figure during the Council of Lviv in 1946] was planning to retain some traditions from the Greek-Catholic local history, and the Russian Orthodox Bishop Makarii was afraid of Kostelnyk's possible plans to establish the Autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Galicia.⁵⁶⁸ In the case of 1980s when the possibility of legalization of the Greek-Catholic Church was on the rise, there is almost no question about the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church was not in favor of any serious legalization, and not merely because of theological issues [it was sending its representatives to the Vatican and made attempts to improve its relations with the Holy See in the 1960s/1970s - as was discussed in previous three chapters], but simply due to the issue of ecclesiastical power or property rights. Later on, when the UGCC was able to negotiate its legal to come back with the weak, but still existing Soviet authorities, the question of property was the most painful and complicated, and it turned to be the problem of two Churches, not the religion/Catholicism against the Communism anymore.

...by late 1989 it had become possible for Ukrainian Catholic churches to register with the state authorities, but ongoing difficulties over property and the transfer to the Ukrainian Catholic Church of many hitherto Orthodox communities raised the temperature in the winter 1989-1990.⁵⁶⁹

It was a situation of the real UGCC-ROC-State triangle when times began to face *Perestroika* and the new age of pluralism that was not known in the USSR since its establishment in 1922, and before when Ukraine was part of the absolute monarchy. The whole situation was crucial for the UGCC because it was not really known if this Church could actually return, or if it was capable to repossess the property and win over those believers, who did not merely convert to the 'official Orthodoxy', but simply stopped going to any church at all. Could the above-formulated factors that saved the UGCC during its most difficult period of the underground existence make it come back in the same shape as it was before 1946? The diaspora was far away, and the general public of those who considered themselves members of the underground UGCC did not keep any direct contact with it, even if they received a lot of support from abroad. Maintaining such contacts belonged to the most brave and determined individuals only, the rest just lived their everyday lives merely hoping for the legalization on some distanced day. Previously mentioned Father Budzinsky, who sent letters to Estonian friends, knew that his life was in terrible danger, but was more or less ready to what could have happened, majority was not like that of course, and even while being in the underground, tried to keep everything in secret. Open demand for the legalization of the UGCC was a product of the late 1980s, when it became possible to stand up during the public discussion and actually raise the question of the legality of the organization, despite the fact that it was not yet understood whether it will or will not get accepted by the state. Simply there was no clear future for the Soviet Union during *Perestroika*, it could turn in every possible direction, from further

⁵⁶⁸ C.M. Hann, Paul R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, an article by Harald H. Jepsen, *Orthodoxy and Autocephaly in Galicia*, (University of Toronto Press, 2005) at p. 75.

⁵⁶⁹ John Anderson, *Religion, State and Politics in the Soviet Union and Successor States*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994) at p. 188.

liberalization to the reversed way of another wave of repressions if suddenly more conservative Communists took control or Mikhail Gorbachev himself decided to reject his own reforms, but it did not happen during the late 1980s.⁵⁷⁰

III

Social Activists and the Soviet Position Before 1985

Activists as Josyf Terelya were not freed right away when the whole change began in 1985, but it seemed that the climate was getting different, and the factor of international pressure to actually make changes was getting higher against the new Soviet leadership. Due to these developments, Terelya was released from the Soviet jail, deprived of his citizenship and sent to Canada, the country in which he lived until 2009 while visiting Ukraine from time to time.⁵⁷¹ Notably, he was arrested and prosecuted by the Uzhhorod (Transcarpathian region, *Zakarpattya*) district court in 1985 [after Gorbachev became the General Secretary], and sentenced to seven years in the strict labor camps in Perm [Ural region in Russia].⁵⁷² This particular fact speaks for itself because one of the most prominent defenders of the Greek-Catholic legalization from the 1960s to 1980s was actually incarcerated during the *Perestroika* and was freed only under the pressure from the West, particularly after the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting in 1987. Certainly, the point underlined in the previous paragraph was bothering all sides, Greek-Catholics in the underground, the Russian Orthodox Church, which was the only legal ecclesiastical organization of the Eastern Rite tradition, and the Soviet authorities that were reluctant to make any changes possible. To some extent the example of Josyf Terelya points at the Soviet leadership, it clearly shows its conservative side and the definite fear before any serious reform, it was not ready to legalize the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church or become friends with such people as Terelya, at least not during the first years of the major reform. The situation was rapidly changing, the Presidency of Ronald Reagan was quite rough on Gorbachev's policies, the first did not believe him and thought that the whole idea of *Perestroika*, talks about reforms, human rights, etc., was merely another wave of demagogy to slow down the arms race and general confrontation with the West due to the Soviet collapsing economy. Actually, this statement is quite arguable among many in the West itself because theoretical idealization of that era in the USSR, Gorbachev and his programs is very strong, as much as the latter is disliked in today's Russia for the opposite reason, and both sides of this argument may be quite wrong on their judgments. That leader was trying to preserve the system by loosening some of its parts. Eventually, it led to the total collapse of the system because it was impossible to get reforms through [it was irreformable], thus, the staunch defenders of the Soviet past do not like Gorbachev, on the other hand, in the West, he is popular because many naively believe that his goal was not to preserve and reform the system in order to save the

⁵⁷⁰ George W. Breslauer, *Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders*, (Cambridge University Press, 2002) at p. 240.

⁵⁷¹ Paul R. Magocsi, *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and their Descendants in North America*, (Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2005) at p. 108.

⁵⁷² <<http://www.misionar.info/teksty/6225.html>>: an article by Maria Bozhyk, *Dissident Josyf Terelya*, [Дисидент Йосиф Тереля], Ukrainian Christian Newspaper *Місіонар*, [Missionary], (updated, April 30, 2015), accessed April 30, 2015.

Communism, but to completely eliminate it by replacing with democracy. So, in the West, he is wrongly perceived as the true democratic reformer, and in the East, especially in Russia he is seen as a traitor in the eyes of many staunch former Communists and numerous believers in the revanchism of the Russian imperial past, and also not accepted by the liberal-democrats.⁵⁷³ Both sides appear to be somewhat wrong. Therefore, not until the collapse of the Warsaw Pact in 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall etc, activists or dissidents as Josyf Terelya were able to speak out freely, and they were supposed to get their freedom merely through Reagan's insistence, not Gorbachev's own decisions, this point is very important, particularly when discussing the legalization of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church during the late 1980s. At the same time, it should be noted, that previously, let's say in the 1960s any discussion about the legalization was way more difficult, literally impossible, however during the deep crisis of the Soviet system since the mid-1980s it all turned to be realistic, but without certainty. When Josyf Slipyj became the Cardinal and gained more authority in the Vatican after 1965, it gave additional hopes to those, who were living in the underground in Ukraine and those who kept the Greek-Catholic tradition in the rest of the world, but there was no belief in realization of such a project.⁵⁷⁴ It was necessary to keep the hope that the system, even though reluctant to go, would still try to at least find some common language with many Churches and other religious organizations that were suppressed during previous decades, after all, if the new *Perestroika* government was at least trying to show the West and its own citizens that it was growing more liberal, it had to somehow normalize relations with the Greek-Catholics in Ukraine and abroad. There were examples from the Czechoslovakian history when in 1968 more liberal government [but still Communist, similar to Gorbachev], which was later suppressed by the Soviet tanks in 1968 began to negotiate with the Greek-Catholics in Slovakia, and the process of talks was quite successful.⁵⁷⁵ For this reason, it was said before, that this feeling of the future legalization was somewhere in the air starting with later 1985. Any reluctance set by the old Communists or more Moscow oriented [not Communists] Russian Orthodox structures in Galicia could not suppress this sort of tendency to believe in the brighter future for the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church during the 1980s, and this feeling was clearly more persistent than just a few years prior to that, when Andropov was in charge of the Soviet state.

IV

UGCC Perspectives in the Early 1980s

In the early eighties, any hope of normalizing the relations was almost non-existent because it was yet another peak in the Cold War, and the UGCC was seen as one of the ideological weapons at the frontline. Eventually, what could be done just by a few individuals, who

⁵⁷³ Metta Spencer, *The Russian Quest For Peace and Democracy*, (Lexington Books, 2012) at p. 224. Also see Stephen F. Cohen, *Soviet Fates and Lost Alternatives*, *Soviet Fates and Lost Alternatives: From Stalinism To the New Cold War*, (Columbia University Press, 2013).

⁵⁷⁴ Ed. Lucian N, Leustean, *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, an article by Natalia Shlikhta, *The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church*, (Routledge, 2014) at p. 640.

⁵⁷⁵ Ed. B. Gasparov, Olga-Raevsky-Hughes, *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs: Slavic Cultures in the Middle Ages*, an article by Paul Robert Magocsi, *Religion and Identity in the Carpathians: East Christians in Poland and Czechoslovakia*, (University of California Press, 1993) at p. 130.

certainly were brave enough to speak out, silence their opponents during an open discussion, but at the same time get silenced themselves in jails or exiles. Josyf Terelya was one of such examples, he was resisting the system with the hope to defeat it, but could he accomplish this kind of task, let's say when he wrote letters to the German Minister of Culture in 1981, in which he told the real situation of the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine?⁵⁷⁶ His name will be discussed in this chapter again because he was symbolizing that unique, and particularly astonishing transition from the underground period to legalization in 1989. He began another wave of his activities in the early 1980s, when the hope of ever coming out was very small, arrests and fears of being arrested, intimidated, or simply beaten was very high, if the authorities found out about an individual's loyalty to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, only sheer determination could drive people on [noting three identified factors that helped the UGCC to survive, and which were already formulated above].⁵⁷⁷ This activist was discussed in the chapter about the underground UGCC structure and will be talked about again in here for his thorough involvement in the legalization process during the late Soviet period. He sort of marked the transition era from persecutions to legalization, and his accomplishment in the given developments was very strong; on one hand, he represented the laity, but on the other, his role was connecting the common people's resistance with politics that were noted by every side of the struggle. Soviet authorities could not silence him, as much as they could not silence the Ukrainian dissident movement, it was too stubborn and determined, he was well known to them and his goals were known even better. Moreover, Terelya's activity became talked about in the Vatican and also Washington D.C., and other Western capitals, if he was prosecuted [and the latter side knew he was persecuted unfairly], the Soviet government was getting letters and warnings. Those activists that were already well known worldwide could not be simply put behind the bars or exiled because their suffering meant more pressure against the Soviet authorities, particularly if it was dealing with the freedom of conscience or as in this case, the legalization of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Something began to happen in the mid-1980s, the Soviet government was then looking for other opportunities of control and certainly new kind of relations with its Western counterparts, which insisted on the widening of human rights in the Soviet Union. Otherwise, there was more pressure, economic sanctions could grow deeper, and it was too difficult to handle for the weakening system, which could be compared to a little piece of butter spread around too much bread. Legalization of many other issues that were forbidden in the USSR were in one way or another coming into that day's reality because the system could not resist the pressure from the West and was not capable of being on the same level of strength with it [as it was a few decades ago, or even in the late 1970s]. This statement may first seem to be a little too political, even for this topic where politics are intertwined with the UGCC history, however, it's very important to understand, especially in order to get the grasp of what was taking place in the mid and late 1980s and what caused the legalization. It's the transitional period itself [*Perestroika*, differences in the world political climate, if not economy and everything what was connected to it].

⁵⁷⁶ Yuriy Kaganov, *The Opposition Movement in Ukraine and Poland in Context of the Socio-Political Transformations (70s-80s XX c.): Comparative Analysis*, (Scientific Works of the Historical Department of the Zaporizhzhya State University, 2006, Issue 20) at p. 286.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-294.

Weakness of the Soviet System in the 1980s and Its Ideological Anti-Religious and Anti-Dissident Activity in Ukraine During that Period.

The Soviet Union was getting weaker, and it was looking for other ways to survive and possibly carry on into the twenty-first century, but it required new ways of building internal and external politics, in the case of such figures as Josyf Terelya [and the UGCC] the Gorbachev's changes did not make any difference at least during the first three years of *Perestroika*. It should be noted that the Soviet authorities were trying to compromise Terelya, so in 1986 one of the local Ukrainian newspapers *The Voice of Motherland*, published an article claiming to use the real criminal court's materials (presumably from the previous cases used against Terelya); it was stating that he was regretting his activities, and accused himself of many things done before.⁵⁷⁸ At the same time, he never accepted these publications, and moreover, after knowing the biography of this personality, it seems that this was another typical propaganda trick, so common in any totalitarian/authoritarian system. During the mid-1980s many Ukrainian Greek-Catholic believers were rejecting the Soviet citizenship in order to protest against the repressions, the same was done by Josyf Terelya in 1984, and his move was probably serving as an example to others who were equally strong in their resistance.⁵⁷⁹ In other words, here it should be important to sort of show that the liberal changes were not so idealistic and perfect as it may seem from afar, the Soviet Union could not simply turn into the democratically ruled state after so many years of oppression and misgivings. The whole process of legalization of the UGCC was hanging in the air, but it was not getting implemented immediately because there were complications inside the establishment of power that had to be naturally causing fear of the change itself, it was said just a few paragraphs before about the perception of *Perestroika* in the West and in the USSR. The Greek-Catholic Church was the unbending enemy of Communism for such a long time that simply legalizing it due to more pluralism or *glasnost* was probably too far for Gorbachev or his close political advisors. The UGCC seized to exist forty years prior to Gorbachev's reforms, it never accepted the existence of Communism or its ideology in any form because it suffered under it for too long, thus, both sides could not really trust each other, even if there were changes in the fabric of the Soviet internal or external policies. The latter side was certainly really afraid of the Greek-Catholic agenda [Moscow or prior to 1917 St. Petersburg were traditionally afraid of it; this issue was discussed in the first two chapters], this ecclesiastical organization was the major target of atheistic propaganda during the Soviet period after 1946 in Ukraine, far more reaching than the one directed against the official Orthodox Church.

Soviet data show that 23 percent of all atheist propaganda in western Ukrainian newspapers, which is described as the "main thrust," is devoted to Catholicism and the Uniates. A

⁵⁷⁸ *The Voice of Motherland*, a newspaper commonly read in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, [Голос Батьківщини], (issue #20, 1986).

⁵⁷⁹ Yuriy Kaganov, *Orthodox and Catholic Dimensions of the anti Communist movement in Ukraine and Central-Eastern Europe (second half of the 1980s, XX c.)*, Scientific Works of the Historical Department of the Zaporizhzhya State University, 2011, Issue 30) at p. 203.

breakdown by individual newspapers yields the following results: *Vil'na Ukraina*, 47.7 percent; *Prykarpats'ka Pravda*, 31.7 percent; *Vil'ne Zhyttia*, 25.5 percent; *Zakarpats'ka Pravda*, 23.3 percent. By comparison, the proportion of materials devoted to Orthodoxy in the seven western Ukrainian oblast newspapers is 13.3 percent, or about half the amount for the Catholics and Uniates.⁵⁸⁰

This technical or better to say statistical information openly shows the situation that took place in between two denominations, and this is very important to be incorporated into the general understanding of what the official political lineup was doing and thinking in the mid and late 1980s in the USSR. For example, the future first President of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, who was the major figure in the Communist Party system in the 1980s was formerly fighting religion, and especially the Greek-Catholic Church. In the late 1980s he was heading the Communist Party of Ukraine, and earlier in the decade oversaw its Central Committee's Propaganda and Agitation Department, the one which was taking care of the ideology. Here is an extract from his speech made in 1982 during the conference on national relations that took place in Riga. Notably, later in his post-Communist career, he became the defendant of the Greek-Catholic or any other religious agenda in Ukraine, but presumably in the 1980s officials similar to him had a hard time turning around and suddenly thinking positively about the legalization of the UGCC.

We have an information that in the republic, especially in its western oblasts, the propaganda of the Vatican and other bourgeois clerical and clerical nationalist centers is finding a response among certain circles of listeners. Among them are Catholics, former Uniate priests and monks, and nationalistically inclined individuals. There is also a certain revival of religious activity within several of the registered communities of sects. The Catholic clergy has become more active under the influence of hostile propaganda. The former Uniate clergy has tried to promote the psychological preparedness of believers with a view toward putting forth demands for the resumption of the activity of the Uniate Church.⁵⁸¹

His words were particularly supported by the sources seen in the recently published KGB archives, the latter organization was thoroughly monitoring the development mentioned by Leonid Kravchuk in 1982.

In Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Ternopil regions an attempts made by the Uniate leadership to involve youth into the religious-nationalist activity was halted, 33 active Uniates were prevented from further action, 14 leaders became compromised, 7 illegal publishing points were detected and neutralized.⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ ed. Sabrina P. Ramet, *Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies*, an article by Roman Solchanyk and Ivan Hvat, *The Catholic Church in the Soviet Union*, (Duke University Press, 1990) at pp. 77-78.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁵⁸² From the information note made by KGB of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on the situation among Uniates in the Republic and abroad, December 14, 1980. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.-F.16.-Register. 7 (year 1985).-Case. 58.-pp. 15-23. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.7 (1985).-Спр. 58.-Арк. 15-23.]*

Some five years later the whole agenda began to change, slowly and with numerous obstacles, however, the same officials who were hating religion, were taught to propagate atheism, and particularly resist the revival of the 'Uniates', now had to find at least some common language with their former adversaries. Of course, it could not happen smoothly, without problems and confrontations between them and religious organizations on one hand, and religious organizations between each other on the other, specifically when it came to the property or theological issues between the ROC and UGCC. That time was full of surprises to every side of the ideological front line, and neither could clearly predict what would eventually happen to them, therefore, it caused so much turbulence and mistrust. However, the Communist side was clearly not as strong as before, unlike its adversaries, which remained truly devoted to their religion and traditions, and definitely felt the wind of changes that would sooner or later allow them to pray openly in their churches or talk about everything they believe in out in public. One of the first of such people was a young man from western Ukraine, who wrote a letter in 1987 to *Komsomolskaya Pravda* [The Truth of Komsomol of the Truth of the Communist Youth] where he was asking someone of his age, who served this notorious Communist Youth organization [existed since the 1920s] to openly get involved in the conversation or an argument. Interestingly, this letter was published by the subordinate issue of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* called *Sobesednik*, signifying the changing political environment, so here is that small message written by a young man.

I am twenty-two years old. I would like, with your help, to initiate a correspondence with anyone from among a Komsomol. I myself am faithful to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and it would be interesting for me to "cross swords." Although I am already convinced that I am right, and I think that today's Komsomol members are not the same as, for example, those in the 1920s. In short, they are weaklings. Well then, are you ready to take me on? If you ignore me and do not respond, I will conclude that you are afraid of a dialogue and have lost.⁵⁸³

It was something very new even for the *glasnost* campaign, someone from the UGCC was openly challenging his counterparts, who would probably put him in jail merely a few years prior to that moment. The same year Josyf Terelya was released from the Soviet jail [as was noted previously], but with the help of Ronald Reagan's pressure upon the Kremlin, and who was deprived of Soviet citizenship and sent to Canada, the country which agreed to take him. That time was still not very safe for such arguments, and the fact that the given newspaper agreed to publish the young man's letter did not mean that everything was facing democracy and free speech. In other words, if one Party official decided to let this public message through, another could simply order the KGB to arrest that young man together with his parents or relatives. *Perestroika* was moving slowly in the heads of many communists, who believed in some changes, but not in the free speech and democracy. Here is an excerpt from the KGB note dating from 1987, practically two years into *Perestroika*.

Following words made by SAPELYAKA, during the recent meeting with the Pope, the question of advisability of informing the world public regarding the condition of the Uniate bishops and clergy in the Republic [Ukraine., O.K.] was raised. Vatican considers that thus it's possible to

⁵⁸³ Ibid., p. 82.

prove that Uniate Church in the USSR is in fact active and force the Soviet government to recognize it on these grounds.⁵⁸⁴

The ideological fight was still raging on, and was certainly not welcomed by the government officials. Here is what historians and publicists Ivan Hvat and Solchanyk wrote about the reaction of one of the Kiev officials, who represented the Soviet government to the legalization process.

On the other hand, little more than three months before he announced its “legalization,” the chairman of the Ukrainian Council of the Religious Affairs told a Kiev newspaper that ‘there is no room for the activities of the initiators of forming the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church and their active supporters within the framework of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR.’⁵⁸⁵

Here this quote which signifies the process of legalization in 1989 ran slightly in front of the developments that happened in between the previously cited young man’s letter and the official legalization. It took a lot of work on the side of activists, clergymen in the underground, the Vatican, and Western politicians, who kept on pressuring the Soviet government and pushing upon its abilities to change. Notably, many readers may find that surprising that the notion of changes during the mid and late 1980s was not so smooth and easy, that so many Soviet officials were resisting to give up their staunchly defended ideology and above all the power to rule hearts and minds of the Soviet people. The way that it turned out to be pro everything that the UGCC was standing for is often a matter of surprise to many historians, theologians, publicists, or merely wanderers, who still cannot fully grasp all the reasons that led to the fall of the Soviet Union.

VI

Various Religious Denominations in the USSR during the 1980s. Rev. Pranas Dauknyš.

Previously there were comparisons with other Soviet republics and denominations, which went through the similar faith of difficulties and problems, one of the closest counterparts to the UGCC was the Roman Catholic Church in Lithuania. It was not prohibited by the Soviet law, however, there was never any real understanding between the system and Lithuanian clergy [laymen], plus this republic also went through the militant resistance movement after the WWII, very similar to the resistance in western Ukraine. For example, in 1983 the Catholic Committee for the Defence of the Rights of Believers was destroyed by the authorities, similar to the Ukrainian Action Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers found by Josyf Terelya, Lithuanian Catholic priest and activist Jonas Kastytis Matulionis [graduated from the underground seminary] was arrested in 1984 and sentenced to three years of labor camps; a

⁵⁸⁴ Informatory note made by the KGB of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in regards to the building up of the Vatican’s attempts to revive the UGCC in Ukraine. January 5, 1987. *State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine*.-F.16.-Register. 14 (year 1990).-Case. 1.-pp. 196, 197. [ДА СБ України.-Ф.16.-Он.14 (1990).-Спр.1.-Арк. 196, 197.] *Resolution on the document: “Personally. Inform comrade Ivashko V.A., V. Sherbitsky. [0]6.[0]1.[19]87”*.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

branch of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of Moscow's Academy of Social Sciences was created in Vilnius in 1982.⁵⁸⁶ The early 1980s have begun with the same situation as it was for Josyf Terelya and his attempts to openly speak for the defense of his Church, no hope of any release. Activists of any religion or religious organization could be persecuted, for example, Olga Sushchevskaya, a representative of the *Hari Krishna* in Ukraine was sentenced to three years of imprisonment in 1986 on the basis of being harmful to society.⁵⁸⁷ Beginnings of *Perestroika* were also not very shiny for the Catholic Church in Lithuania, nothing was done to release those who were already in jails [laymen, priests and civil rights activists], the Soviet authorities were viewing the RCC in Lithuania as something totally anti-Soviet and as the breeding ground for local nationalism.

The suspicious death of Juozas Zdebskis, the well-known activist and founder member of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers, occurred in early 1986. Throughout this time clergy and laymen continued to flood the authorities with appeals and protests, among them a petition for the release of the three imprisoned priests (Svarinskas, Tamkevicius, and Matulionis) and the return of Bishop Steponavicius to his diocese that was reported to have been signed by more than 46,000 Lithuanians by mid-1987.⁵⁸⁸

This particular comparison is showing the same situation in other parts of the USSR and signifies the fact that everything that was said above about *Perestroika*, the political situation regarding religious freedom or legalizations of the forbidden organizations, and the release of activists was moving extremely slowly, without special wills and wishes from the old Communist Party's *nomenklatura*.⁵⁸⁹ These comparisons with other denominations and struggles in the same vast country are certainly assisting in understanding the general situation that was taking place during that time. Moreover, it should be noted that the era was extremely complicated, and is still very arguable, things were not so black and white anymore, the system which fought against the UGCC, RCC, Orthodox Autocephalous Churches and others was getting different, but not in one moment (and not willingly). If making more comparisons with Lithuania it becomes clear that the old conflict between the Russian Orthodoxy and Catholicism [of both Rites] was much deeper than any reform that could occur in the late USSR. For example, a Lithuanian priest Rev. Pranas Dauknys in his dissertation, which he defended in Rome [during the mid-1980s] has argued:

For the Soviet atheist, the struggle against religion is not a goal in itself, but the most suitable means for consolidating and extending Russian imperialism as it most clearly appears in the occupied Baltic States: Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, incorporated into the Soviet Union.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 68, 70.

⁵⁸⁷ Dimitry V. Pospelovsky, *Soviet Anti Religious Campaigns and Persecutions: Volume 2 of a History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice and the Believer*, (Springer, 1988) at p. 226.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁸⁹ ed. F.J. Ferdinand Joseph Maria Feldbrugge, Gerard Pieter Van den Berg, William Bradford Simons, *Encyclopedia of Soviet Law*, (BRILL, 1985) at pp. 537-538.

⁵⁹⁰ <http://www.lituanus.org/1985/85_1_04.htm>: an article [summary of doctoral dissertation] by Rev. Pranas Dauknys. Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences, Volume 31, No.1 - Spring 1985, (updated, October 18, 2008), accessed May 7, 2015.

According to this point of view one of the reasons why the Soviet authorities were reluctant to make changes, and even if they did them, it was done through a whole variety of obstacles, was this particular imperial issue. It can be added that if the atheistic propaganda was getting weaker during the later years of *Perestroika*, it could be replaced by the ROC as the power factor in the above mentioned ‘imperial’ interest, which had a long history prior to Gorbachev’s reform, and the Soviet Union itself. Certainly, let’s not make a solid point of view of an argument out of it, but merely use it as the presumption or a theory because even though this work is touching the political issue of the discussed era, *still it is not the work on political science*. It was argued in the previous chapters that the atheistic Soviet propaganda decided to eventually ‘close one eye’ on the factor that the Russian Orthodox Church existed legally, and could be defended by the Soviet law as long as it stayed in ‘alliance’ with the state. Rev. Pranas Dauknys’ statement gives another twist on the factor of Moscow’s domination in the Soviet republics through atheism, or as it may be argued in this work, through the ROC, which was in alliance with the Soviet government in Moscow. The reluctance to withdraw any pretext against the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church or the Orthodox Autocephaly [which also existed in the underground] even during the period of democratization in the late 1980s may be explained by the ‘imperial’ interests with or without atheism. This is another explanation of the reluctance to legalize the UGCC despite all the efforts to modernize and liberalize the Soviet Union, even according to the views set up by the liberal wing in the Communist Party.⁵⁹¹ Possibly this is the key reason why such a constant official postponing of the legalization efforts that were implemented by the believers and activists in the mainly Greek-Catholic Galicia were eventually in the hands of the believers, and not those officials who began to experiment with *glasnost* and democracy. The whole situation with the legalization was getting extremely tough and no one could tell when it would eventually happen, not through rebellions or any form of organized resistance, but through legal means of engagement with the Soviet state. It also should be noted that in the late 1980s most of the people in the USSR [and certainly including Ukraine] did not really foresee the total collapse of the Soviet Union. The underground UGCC leadership was hoping to somehow co-exist with the system, without taking its point of view, in other words, there was a large hope in the fact that the Communist Party would become democratic enough to allow this Church to procure itself at least in Galicia without forcing it to cooperate. Basically it may be theorized that if in the late 1940s the Soviet government decided not to touch the UGCC structure on the basis of ‘not asking’ about anything that took place inside the organization, then it could possibly stay intact, similarly to the RCC structures. However, it did not happen and despite all the liberal attempts to modernize the system within the Communist mainframe, still it was facing more issues with the legality of such organizations as the UGCC, mutual mistrust continued even though the question of legalization was supposed to be resolved. In any case, this problem had to become a thing of the past because the most extreme forms of totalitarianism were obviously in the past, and the irreversibility of *Perestroika* seemed to be quite solid.⁵⁹²

⁵⁹¹ Anders Aslund, *Russia’s Capitalist Revolution: Why Market Reform Succeeded and Democracy Failed*, (Peterson Institute, 2007) at p. 45.

⁵⁹² Gilbert Rozman, *Japan’s Response to the Gorbachev Era, 1985-1991: A Rising Superpower Views a Declining One*, (Princeton University Press, 2014) at p. 230.

VII

1987 as the Turning Point in Perestroika. Open Protests in Moscow.

1987 may be somehow seen as the breakthrough year for many internal and external reasons, the importance of changes turned to be vital, the West's pressure did not decline, but Soviet reluctance to go forward remained. In August the same year, something truly extraordinary had happened in the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, the large group of believers and clergy, totally two hundred and six people, sent an open message to Pope John Paul II that they do not wish to continue their underground existence in the Soviet Union, and appeal to him for more help.⁵⁹³ Here is the message to Pope, it was short but very clear and demanding.

We, the Bishops, priest, monks, nuns and laymen of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, who have signed below, proclaim that in the relation to *Perestroika* in the USSR and better conditions, which consequently formed, and with the one thousandth anniversary of Ukraine's Baptism, we consider it to be meaningless to stay in the underground, thus, asking Your Beatitude to assist with all the means possible the cause of legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR. At the same time, we address the government of the Soviet Union through Your Beatitude with our appeal about coming from the underground of the largest part of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. August 1, 1987.⁵⁹⁴

It clearly demanded much closer cooperation between the Vatican and UGCC structures that still existed in the underground, and already began to raise their voices so different to the early 1980s when any attempt to do the same [Josyf Terelya's example] could end up in prison. This was yet another call to support the Greek-Catholic existence in the Soviet Union, to demolish disconnection between East and West, and of course, make more pressure against Mikhail Gorbachev. Totally, 196 laymen were participating in the process of making this serious petition, it also included Bishops Pavlo Vasylyk, and Ivan Semedi, 23 priests, 2 monastic brothers, and ten sisters.⁵⁹⁵ Notably, this peaceful form of protest took place before well-organized hunger strikes and demonstrations carried out in Moscow closer to 1989, it means that this first real public attempt to come out was going on before any other during the *Perestroika* period.⁵⁹⁶ Definitely, it was the first one *if not counting everything that happened prior* to 1985. This message was clearly saying, that there is such a Church, which did not disappear, and Gorbachev, who was already very popular in the West is not always keeping his promises to liberalize the USSR and defend the freedom of conscience to its fullest extent. To some degree, any letter of this kind was shaming Gorbachev's foreign policy, undermining his worldwide popularity, possibilities to take financial loans from the Western banks for the

⁵⁹³ The Samizdat Archive, number 6096, *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*, #26.

⁵⁹⁴ <<http://www.ichistory.org/churchex/church17.html>>: *The Group Statement of the Ukrainian Catholics from Ukraine*. Institute of Church History of Ukrainian Catholic University website, (updated, May, 14, 2015), accessed May 14, 2015.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., The Samizdat Archive.

⁵⁹⁶ Nataliya Dmytryshyn, *Between Resistance and Accommodation: The Greek-Catholic Religious Underground in the System of Soviet Totalitarianism*, [Між опором і пристосуванням: Греко-католицьке релігійне підпілля в системі радянського тоталітаризму], (Kovcheg, 2007) at p. 279.

collapsing Soviet economy, etc. The general position of Mikhail Gorbachev was way more complicated than the one of Leonid Brezhnev's in the 1970s, it all became specifically important after 1987, when *oil prices dropped and the Soviet economy set adrift to its final days, he simply had no resources* to resist the West, and had to comply with his liberal position, which could guarantee the international political and financial support.⁵⁹⁷ More pressure from the Vatican was necessary in order to finally bend Gorbachev's position on the legality of the UGCC, after all, it was only his decision, which could truly make a difference. Moreover, local Soviet authorities in Ukraine could be afraid of these changes even more than those in Moscow because they had to later co-exist with the people they were suppressed in the past, this nuance should be taken into account when reading KGB materials purposely given to local Communist officials in Ukraine. They also did not know how angry or revengeful people of Galicia would be after so many years of repressions, and possibly the same fear existed in the minds of regional Russian Orthodox clergymen, whose position during the Soviet period after 1946 was well known. Particularly, they were afraid of the property confiscations, and future loss of influence in the area. Eventually, this issue began to appear, when the UGCC decided to take its property back, especially when the 'Orthodox' laity turned to be Greek-Catholic in reality, and simply proclaimed their churches, and other sacred buildings to be their own confessional possessions.⁵⁹⁸ However, it would happen later, after 1989 when the UGCC got legalized and the Soviet authority really went into submission.

VIII

Ronald Reagan. Internal and External Activism to Enhance the Legalization Process.

In 1987-89 it was important to attract more attention from the rest of the world, particularly the Vatican and the United States. The first one because it was technically the superior of UGCC [in the underground or in diaspora], and the second had a lot of international power, which could be used in order to make a difference in the Soviet internal/external policies. It was already noted before that Josyf Terelya was freed following Ronald Reagan's appeal to Gorbachev, technically marking the moment of more changes in the USSR's policy toward the defense of human rights, however, this activist was not simply released but deported away from Ukraine while losing his citizenship. Nevertheless, 1987 turned to be a hard year for the Soviet economy, systematic crisis deepened [including raising mortality rate].⁵⁹⁹ Thus, the country was supposed to produce more changes in the status of UGCC, and other denominations, civil rights groups, sects, etc. Previously mentioned public letter sent to the Soviet government made a historical landmark in the relations between the Kremlin and the Greek-Catholics of Ukraine, who simply refused to stay underground any longer. This action attracted attention from Pope John Paul II, who was an old friend of Eastern Catholicism and famous for his anti-Communist rhetoric throughout most of his prominent ecclesiastical career, but it would take almost two

⁵⁹⁷ Jeffrey A. Engel, *The Fall of the Berlin Wall: The Revolutionary Legacy 1989*, (Oxford University Press, 2011) at p. 74.

⁵⁹⁸ Geraldine Fagan, *Believing in Russia: Religious Policy After Communism*, (Routledge, 2012) at p. 116.

⁵⁹⁹ Wolfgang Lutz, Sergei Scherbov, Andrei Volkov, *Demographic Trends and Patterns in the Soviet Union Before 1991*, (Routledge, 2002) at p. 41.

more years before he and Mikhail Gorbachev could meet in Rome [1989]. Once again it was President Reagan, who decided to talk to Gorbachev in 1988 about the legalization matter after in November, 1987 the diaspora-based Ukrainian Patriarchal World Federation (UPSO) asked him to get involved.⁶⁰⁰ Diaspora factor was influencing the course of legalization and used it's abilities to the fullest while discussing this matter with the world leaders, and Reagan turned to be very effective in pressuring Gorbachev. It was vital to bring in more attention and convince the Soviet leader to curve out the Party's hardliners, who had no wishes to make any changes in the course of action chosen by them years ago, when they decided to enter Party lines. Communist conservatives in Kremlin and in republics stood in the way of any legalization of the UGCC, to them it was the anathema to everything what they believed in for most of their lives, so more political pressure was necessary, and time. Somehow this position coincided with the Russian Orthodox conservative view on the matter, and what is the most important, it all continues until this day, in other words, it may be quite easy to understand if simply looking at what takes place today while comparing it to the past events. Scholar Geraldine Fagan cited Metropolitan Sergius of Russia, who was staunchly opposed to any form of Catholicism in his country, and obviously was reluctant to give up on his Church's influence in Ukraine, too.

What would it mean if the Roman Catholic Church were to replace the Russian Orthodox Church?... People would not be raised with an Orthodox mindset. It would not be Russia, they would not be Russians [*russkie*, denoting ethnicity] ... Why did we always fear and fight against Catholicism? That they would come here, and do their dirty deed? ... Because we understood - if the Catholics come and replace our faith, then Russia will fall apart. Her political and economic life will simply collapse.⁶⁰¹

This strong passage explains a lot, whether it was before 1917 or after, it truly shows the real situation within the Russian conservative Orthodox or even Communist thinking, technical co-existence with the Catholic world was just impossible to imagine for them, thus, the reluctance to make the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church legal in the USSR. During the early 1988 an *International Helsinki Federation* began to raise the question before the Soviet government, but to no avail because Konstantin Kharchev, head of the Soviet Council on Religious Affairs, thought that it's not in his competence and the question of legalization belongs to the inner-church affairs, additionally, Gennady Gerasimov, the spokesman for the Soviet government simply denied any possibility of legalization.⁶⁰² There was no decision made on the side of their superior, Mikhail Gorbachev himself, who was also sharing the same fears and misunderstanding over the issue of legalization to the point of making his governmental spokesman completely deny even an idea of such legalization of the UGCC. Also, it was time when many liberals in the Soviet Union and the world began to really question *Perestroika*, despite many changes, 1987-1988 were the years of big fears to move on and receive more help from the West, or stagnate and get the Soviet economy into yet another wave

⁶⁰⁰ Andrew Sorokovskij, *Die Lage der Ukrainischen Katholischen Kirche in der Ukraine*, (Jahrbuch der Ukrainekunde, 1988) at p. 157.

⁶⁰¹ Geraldine Fagan, *Believing in Russia: Religious Policy After Communism*, p. 111,

⁶⁰² Andrew Sorokovskij, *Die Lage der Ukrainischen Katholischen Kirche in der Ukraine*, p. 157.

of collapse. It was fueling more resistance and expectations in the Catholic Church, more protests on the side of the UGCC followers, and certainly more refusals from the conservative Soviet government, which believed in *Perestroika* as long as it did not touch its traditional spheres of influence. It all required more involvement on the side of the Western politicians and Pope himself because every petition or letter signed by the Greek-Catholic or human rights activist could end up in KGB hands, and instead of legalization, it could have ended up in another repressive measure dictated by the fear on the side of Soviet politicians. Technically, the whole course of reforms could change any day, if Mikhail Gorbachev said that it has gone too far, and everything should be either slowed down or completely reversed back, especially due to the growing demand for changes from below.⁶⁰³

IX

1988. Celebration of the 1000th Anniversary of the Baptism of Rus'. Changes in Legislature.

In 1988 there was another strong motivation for the legalization process, the one-thousandth anniversary of the Baptism of Rus', the year which was always very important to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic tradition. It was analyzed during the first chapter that this Church was leading its history not from the Union of Brest in 1596, but from 988 when the Prince Volodymyr [Vladimir] I decided to baptize his new state following the Byzantine tradition. In the early September, 1988 about forty thousand believers [including clergy and laymen] gathered at the Shrine of Jasna Gora in Poland, many of them included Ukrainian Catholics from Ukraine and diaspora, thus, notably it was the moment when the Ukrainian Patriarchal World Federation (UPSO) could directly meet with the laity from Ukraine and discuss the large variety of ecclesiastical matters.⁶⁰⁴ The presence of the UGCC [even though it was still staying in the underground] could not be denied by the authorities during that year, the anniversary was too big a celebration for this Church not to get out, and somehow remind about its existence. Officially the underground representatives from the UGCC could not visit any Soviet organized events, however, it caused the 'brewing reaction' inside the forbidden Church, people wanted to participate and organize more protests because the question of *why they can(?) and we cannot* be growing more radical inside the minds of any Greek-Catholic Ukrainian. 1988 anniversary was supposed to be the largest celebration for anyone, who led his/her ecclesiastical roots from 988 and Volodymyr I, so the Greek-Catholic tradition felt that the time for legalization had arrived. Moreover, it was the first time in the Soviet Union's history, when such a celebration was organized in public, people could openly speak out about their religious allegiances, delegations from all over the world came to greet the Russian Orthodox Church, [large audiences were gathering at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow] and it really marked the new era; it was impossible just a few years before it.⁶⁰⁵ Basically the government

⁶⁰³ Michael Kort, *The Soviet Colossus: History and Aftermath*, (M.E. Sharpe, 2001) at p. 365.

⁶⁰⁴ ed. Andrew Sorokovskij, *Materials for History of the Ukrainian Patriarchal Movement*, [Матеріали до історії українського патріархального руху], (Svichado, 2009) at pp. 56-57.

⁶⁰⁵ Karrie J. Koesel, *Religion and Authoritarianism: Cooperation, Conflict, and the Consequences*, (Cambridge University Press, 2014) at p. 33.

organized anniversary of the Rus' Baptism was the change in itself, nothing could be compared to it from the Soviet past, when any religion was seen as the 'opium for people' and the worst anti-religious persecutions were taking place starting with the 1917 [until the 1940s the ROC was also seen as the totally forbidden organization, and after it's official legalization by the government [1943], still was merely an instrument, not the ally]. This celebration was giving hope to Greek-Catholics, anything could happen now, and possibly Gorbachev's government would eventually bend down and agree to legalize the UGCC at least in some limited form. Famous activist Ivan Hel' was able to collect 5,451 signatures that were soon sent to the Supreme Soviet [in Moscow, at the same time he was collecting signatures under a similar petition to John Paul II, who was supposed to increase pressure against the Gorbachev's government.⁶⁰⁶ It was additionally fueled by the anniversary because the Greek-Catholic Church did not want to stay out anymore, the underground existence was getting to a halt in the mindset of many Ukrainians and Galician-Ukrainians all over the world. Why would the government, which is beginning to tolerate religion, tries to defend the freedom of conscience, talks about it all the time on the international political scene, but cannot legalize the largest Eastern Catholic denomination? This question was following Gorbachev and those who were asking it knew that there was no room for doubts that sooner or later he will either turn back on his policies or eventually legalize the UGCC. Interestingly, there could be the middle way, which also hung over the legalization process, and it was meddling around the co-operation with the state, something that the Soviet government did with the Russian Orthodox Church. On one hand, the underground Church had no legal rights, it was completely illegal to possess property or carry out any ecclesiastical services in public without placing the believers in danger of getting arrested or deported, but at the same time, the UGCC was free from any co-operation. The legalization process could mean two things, first register the UGCC with the state institutions and make it purely free, or second, make it subordinate without any real voice in the society [even including the Galician region of Ukraine]. Notably, there was the Soviet law passed way back in 1929 [The Law on Religious Associations, replaced with another more liberal law of this kind in the 1990].⁶⁰⁷ It included numerous measures of control over religion, churches, or sects, it certainly prohibited proselytism or any involvement of the religious institutions in the state or political affairs, technically incorporating everything that was applied to the Russian Orthodox Church after 1943.⁶⁰⁸ It meant that the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church could be pressured into some sort of compromise with the government, which could either get rejected by the whole organization in Ukraine and abroad, or split the Church into two factions, legal and illegal. Possibly this course of action could make a difference between the UGCC in diaspora, which would certainly not buy into this kind of offers, and the one in Ukraine, however, it never happened and the future legalization came for the rest of the Church. It was already said that the Soviet authorities on religious affairs were seriously afraid of legalizing the UGCC, they could not break with their own conscience in regards to the

⁶⁰⁶ *Keston News Service* (Keston, Kent, United Kingdom) Number. 296, March 17, 1988.

⁶⁰⁷ Mary Raber, *Ministries of Compassion among Russian Evangelicals, 1905-1929*, (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2016) at p. 60.

⁶⁰⁸ ed. Gordon L. Heath, Michael A.G. Haykin, *Baptists and War: Essays on Baptists and Military Conflict, 1640s-1990s*, an article by Maurice Dowling, *Soviet Baptists and the Cold War*, (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2015) at p. 176.

Communist ideology and their own political past during which many of the representatives of these authorities were literally fighting this organization. It's no wonder why it took so much time during the *Perestroika* alone to bend these authorities into the inevitable reality of legalization, and *consequently it all had to do with the weakening of the Soviet Union itself*, which by 1989 had no power to profess it's political or ideological strength; in other words *if there was no economic decline, the Cold War could continue.*⁶⁰⁹

X

1989. Mikhail Gorbachev meets the Pope. ROC Parishes in Lviv Turn to UGCC

Another powerful breakthrough took place on November 29, 1989, when Fr. Jaroslav Chukhniy had publicly announced the wish of his fellow parishioners from the Transfiguration Church [Lviv], that they were no longer belonging to the Russian Orthodox exarchate of Ukraine, and were turning to join the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.⁶¹⁰ Once again this initiative came from below, and not from the government which technically was expected to do so, but was reluctant to make the first moves. Moreover, it was the first time when formally the Orthodox clergy and laity in one of the biggest churches in Lviv spoke out about their true denominational orientation, it was not the underground UGCC group. Simply the whole agenda of legalizing the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic structures in the region, which was primarily Greek-Catholic was eventually taken into the hands of the parishioners, who were Orthodox merely in their outer form, but never gave up on the original tradition. Such actions were enhancing the process of legalization and made it inevitable even to those officials, who until the last moment tried to slow this process down by denying their wishes to follow *Perestroika* or by saying that this reform is one thing and legalization of the UGCC is something very different. On December 1, 1989, Mikhail Gorbachev met with John Paul II in the Vatican signifying yet another historical moment in the relations between the Soviet Union [later Russia] and the Holy See.⁶¹¹ It meant that things would get much better for the UGCC because certainly Gorbachev was trying to build a real relationship with the Vatican, thus, some actual change in the life of the underground Church was about to take place. First, the leader of the Soviet Union was nervous and did not feel too comfortable in the Curia, however, as the talks went on, he began to relax and started to act friendly. Cardinal Cassidy, the Vatican diplomat recalled a few moments from that historical meeting:

I was told by an interpreter that by this time the Russian president was very relaxed and that in introducing his wife Raisa to Pope John Paul II, said: "Raisa Maximovna, I have the honor to introduce the highest moral authority on earth," and then added with a chuckle, "and he is a Slav, like us".⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁹ Mark L. Haas, *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics, 1789-1989*, (Cornell University Press, 2007) at p. 177.

⁶¹⁰ *Report on the USSR*, Volume 2, (RFE/RL, 1990) at p. 13.

⁶¹¹ Edward Idris Cassidy, *My Years in Vatican Service*, (Paulist Press, 2009) at p. 111.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

The following year both states have established diplomatic relations, but the Russian Orthodox Church never became too friendly with the Vatican since then, and problems between the two denominations continue until this day, for example, Pope could never visit Moscow after that historical Gorbachev's visit to Rome.⁶¹³ Nevertheless, this move on the side of Mikhail Gorbachev meant that coming from the underground was just the matter of a few days or weeks because the issue of UGCC was certainly discussed during that meeting, and most likely the Pope was making his personal insistence on the legalization. At that moment the Soviet leadership in the face of Gorbachev was getting more realistic about the fact that they could not continue with the ideological matters of the past, if it was getting closer to making better relations with the Catholic Church worldwide or any political leader such as Ronald Reagan, Helmut Kohl or Francois Mitterrand. Almost immediately after that meeting, the Council on Religious Affairs ordered the possibility of registration of churches and parishes, the wall was finally breached, so the era of underground existence for the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was over. Certainly, in the country as the Soviet Union everything was eventually decided by the highest authority, someone who led the Communist Party, and not the Council on Religious Affairs or the local Party members. Mikhail Gorbachev took that decision by understanding that the outside factor [John Paul II, diaspora] and the underground wishes [activists, clergymen and ordinary believers] were too insisting to resist, plus 1989 was another crucial year for the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe and consequently for the Soviet government in Moscow.⁶¹⁴ Something that was truly unimaginable during the Josyf Terelya's Action Group days in the early 1980s, when the only option for any direct appeal for the legalization was ending up in jails and deportations, eventually took shape with the order from above.

XI

UGCC Takes the Lead in Galicia. Bishop Volodymyr Sterniuk

Certainly, it was not the end of problems that were associated with the legalization. The Soviet Union was still in place, and therefore its ideology did not disappear well until its total collapse in December 1991. The whole variety of problems and issues that were associated with the property rights, the question of which Church/denomination should possess whose building or temple only began to take more radical forms. In 1990 the commission was formed which represented four Christian denominations, the Roman Catholic Church, Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, Russian Orthodox Church, and Ukrainian Orthodox Church [Kyiv/Ukrainian exarchate of the ROC] in order to discuss this particular issue of the property rights.⁶¹⁵ It was awaited that the whole bulk of problems would not be solved immediately because Catholic and Orthodox sides split very quickly without any possibility of resolving things without scandals. The Catholic side accused the Orthodox one of 'cheating' and

⁶¹³ Katja Richters, *The Post-Soviet Russian Orthodox Church: Politics, Culture and Greater Russia*, (Routledge, 2012) at p. 133.

⁶¹⁴ *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Volume 65, *Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum*, (1999) at p. 205.

⁶¹⁵ Report on the USSR., *Volume 2*, (RFE/RL, Incorporated, 1990) at p. 38.

eventually, the UGCC Bishop Volodymyr Sterniuk decided to leave the conference after talking to other representatives of his Church. The whole agenda behind the property rights, the return of formerly Greek-Catholic churches back to their possession from the Orthodox hands was very painful, and could not be resolved simply with the assistance of one conference or meeting between the hierarchs from each side. Eventually, even before the complete fall of the Soviet Union the general picture of who was possessing, which parish and in whose hands was the largest amount of churches in Galicia, appeared to be leaning toward the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. At this point, it should be noted that Galicia [three western Ukrainian regions of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Ternopil] were traditionally dominated by the Greek-Catholics outstanding Volhynia, which was forcefully converted to the Orthodoxy in 1838/39.⁶¹⁶ Thus, by 1991 in Galicia it had 1,865 parishes, on the other hand, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church had 905 parishes, and 734 maintained in the hands of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate).⁶¹⁷ It was understandable why the UGCC took such a position in the region, also it turned to be expected that many local Ukrainians, who retained their Orthodox orientation left the ROC [or its Ukrainian branch] and formed their own Autocephalous Orthodox Church. A lot of laymen saw the Russian Orthodox Church as something completely foreign, especially after the years of Soviet domination, when the only denomination that was legal remained in the Moscow Patriarchate hands, they simply wanted to have their own Orthodox Church, which did not have previous connotations. At the same time it should be noted that even in the Galician region, where previously the UGCC was nearly totally dominant [prior to 1946] many believers remained Orthodox after 1989, not everyone wanted to become Catholic, in other words, all what people wished for (those who saw themselves Orthodox) was to have their own Orthodox Church, the one that would be loyal to the local Ukrainian Archbishop.

Hence an initially anti-Uniate theme emerged in the Galician UAOC was a way to “save Orthodoxy” in Galicia with the collapse of the Russian Orthodox Church’s defences against Greek Catholic revival. In the fall of 1989, the UAOC was joined by a former ROC bishop of Zhytomyr, Ioann Bondarchuk, a Galician native, who ordained several more bishops for the new church. The canonicity of these ordinations has been denied by the ROC.⁶¹⁸

This was an interesting development right before the legalization of the UGCC became possible [the autumn of 1989 was just prior to Gorbachev’s visit to Rome] and most likely was not that well welcomed by the Greek-Catholics because it brought back some elements of an old fight between pro-Latin and pro-Byzantine factions in Galicia, which existed before 1946. In some way it was noted by a historian and scholar Bohdan Bociurkiw, who connected it to

⁶¹⁶ Edward D. Wynot, Jr, *The Polish Orthodox Church in the Twentieth Century and Beyond: Prisoner of History*, (Lexington Books, 2014) at p. 12.

⁶¹⁷ Bohdan Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR under Gorbachev: Problems of Communism*, November-December 1990, vol. 39, #6, pp. 1-19. Also see, Bohdan Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the Contemporary USSR*, National Papers, 1992, vol. 20, #1, pp. 16-28.

⁶¹⁸ ed. Michael Bourdeaux, *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, an article by Bohdan Bociurkiw, *Politics and Religion in Ukraine: The Orthodox and the Greek Catholics*. (M.E. Sharpe, 1995) at p. 140.

previously mentioned and discussed Gavriil Kostelnyk's activity during the Lviv Council of 1946.

Unlike the Kievan initiative that looked back to the anti-Moscovite tradition of Metropolitan Lypkivs'kyi's UAOC of the 1920s, the movement from ROC to the UAOC in Galicia invoked the legacy of Fr. Havryil Kostel'nyk's "reunion" with Orthodoxy in 1945-1946, which was now conveniently reinterpreted as a patriotic action for an independent Ukrainian church that was "betrayed" by the MGB *agentura* within the Moscow Patriarchate.⁶¹⁹

Particularly during the period of such a heavy initiative to get registered, the UGCC was certainly not looking for more issues with other denominations that were neither on the side of the Soviet government nor on the side of the ROC, but positioned themselves as pro-Ukrainian, and could be suspicious in the eyes of the UGCC. After all, the legalization period was naturally connected to the process of liberalization policy toward any religion or confession, thus, normal rivalries could emerge because not only the UGCC was getting legalized and finally could come out from the underground. One of the reasons, why the process of legalization was so much related to these denominational disputes could be caused by the fact that the true initiative came not from the top, but from below, based on the people's will, and not the real wish from the country's leadership. The government saw the process of legalization as something that they were facing sooner or later [if it wanted to continue the major reform], and at the same time waited for more activity on the people's side, the system sort of kept on deciding whether it really needed to make more liberal steps towards the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

XII

ROC and the Legalization Process. Lithuanian Events in 1991.

After all, well until 1989 nothing was really done in terms of the registration process, and it's well known that the year was truly revolutionary, previously things with *Perestroika* were going on too smoothly and probably did not require a lot of attention over the areas, where human rights or conscious had to be watched over.⁶²⁰ Later in 1991, the same liberal Gorbachev sent Interior Ministry's troops to Vilnius to halt the independence movement in Lithuania.⁶²¹ Thus, this kind of indifference suddenly gave birth to the old rivalries between the Christian denominations, something that truly appears to be unpleasant if taking into consideration the presumed piety of this religion, in other words, to believers there is nothing more difficult to see when the same religion, which proclaims peace begins to quarrel over the keys to the building right within itself. The issue of Greek-Catholics, who were prohibited for almost fifty

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., p. 140.

⁶²⁰ Bernd Florath, *Das Revolutionsjahr 1989: die demokratische Revolution in Osteuropa als transnationale Zäsur*, an article by Christian Halbrock, *Kirche und Kirchen im Vorfeld sowie in den Revolutionen*, (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011) at p. 149.

⁶²¹ ed. Patrick Heenan, Monique Lamontagne, *The Central and Eastern Europe Handbook: Prospects onto the 21st Century*, an article by Wayne C. Thompson, *The Baltic States*, (Routledge, 2014) at p. 25.

years could be at least understood, they fought for the return of their possessions, however, it did not look good at all anyway for those, who thought that different Churches should discuss their matters peacefully. When two Orthodox Churches started to fight over the same issue, it appeared to be even more unnerving because why would suddenly the same denomination/confession disagree within itself, merely over the whole variety of material issues. Simply because all the other ones were resolved by the fact that they both belonged to the same ecclesiastical concept of Orthodoxy. According to Bohdan Bociurkiw to some degree it happened to the loss of control over the whole process [on the side of the government], on one hand, it shows that the initiative was indeed coming from below, the people, and on the other, it portrays certain weakness of the Soviet government between 1989-1990 [the reason why they let the legalization/registration process finally move on].

Before long, Moscow and its loyal republican authorities in Kiev lost control over the ecclesiastical developments in Galicia, where in March 1990 the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church rejected the January ROC-Vatican agreement and turned for aid in restoring its rights to the newly elected local and oblast [district., O.K.] authorities dominated by supportive Rukh [literally ‘movement’, pro- independence political party in the late 1980s and early 1990s] deputies. The rapid resurgence of the Uniate Church led the patriarchate to change its tactics: while unleashing a campaign of disinformation about the alleged “persecution” of the Orthodox in Galicia by Uniate “extremists” and the new “separatist” - led local authorities, the Russian Orthodox Church began increasingly to call upon Gorbachev’s leadership and the “law and order” agencies to intervene directly in western Ukraine to “restore” order, remove Greek Catholics from the churches they had repossessed, and unseat the pro-Uniate “nationalist” authorities.⁶²²

It was all taking place before the Soviet Union collapsed, technically everything could be reversed, churches could be returned back to the ROC, and even the UGCC was in the dangerous position of being de-regularized once again. After all, it was discussed previously that the course of *Perestroika* was still not very clear, Gorbachev could get truly afraid of his own moves while making reforms. This particular political weakness or lack of wishes to move forward, in many ways added to the list of inner denominational problems that were to follow, after the legalization of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, and the establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. Eventually, each side believed that what it needs to have should remain in the same old hands [what was possessed by the UGCC before 1946, and what went into the hand of the ROC after 1946]. The moral aspect of this infighting was not benefiting the case of Christianity itself, and perhaps from the true believer’s point of view was not giving ‘bonuses’ to either side, however, the UGCC was certainly repossessing what was belonging to it before the process of confiscations, and it was done by the laity, which after the legalization simply decided to proclaim itself Catholic. To many laymen in Galicia, it was important to remember that they have always been Greek-Catholic, even if they were formally ‘converted’ into the Orthodoxy, so the very same priests, who were considered to be Orthodox, changed the flag to the one they were believing to be true. It was clearly another way to exist in the underground, submit to the Orthodoxy after the Council of 1946, but deep inside remain

⁶²² Ibid., p. 138.

to be Catholic. Those believers, who wanted to remain Orthodox decided to change the jurisdiction, thus, the Autocephalous Orthodox Church was born [especially if looking at the fact that it already existed in diaspora, and was established in Ukraine in the 1920s].⁶²³

Basically, the period of the worst struggles was over. The UGCC was finally able to worship in public and develop on the global scale together with its diaspora branches, which did so much to make this ecclesiastical organization legal when it was behind the Iron Curtain. It should be said that the UGCC was able to outlive the Soviet Union, and the major goal of so many laymen and clergy, including Andrei Sheptytsky and Josyf Slipyj eventually came true. Both of these clergymen did a lot, if not everything to make it possible. This organization was not fractured and remained unified before it was able to resurface again. Arguably it was already concluded that from the beginning of prosecutions until 1989 the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic tradition was able to survive because of three factors, determination among clergy led by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, strong will on the side of the laity, and of course the international factor represented by diaspora and the Vatican. All of these factors turned to be extremely powerful and despite all the odds, they turned to be very successful, even when there was almost no hope to revive the tradition in Ukraine or at least keep it alive. Nevertheless, the UGCC became an example of such a survival, and it will keep the legacy for any forbidden organization, which searches for the freedom of conscious, human rights, and democracy.

⁶²³ Stephen K. Batalden, Sandra L. Batalden, *The Newly Independent States of Eurasia: Handbook of Former Soviet Republics*, (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997) at p. 85.

Conclusion

As it was analyzed in this work, the process of struggle against the totalitarian state is above all based on the local population, its determination to survive and strive for the larger goal, even if this goal is somewhere far away. The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the people, who supported it were believing in their traditions, historical values that were associated with them, and certainly did not want to accept anything that was imposed on them by the Soviet or Nazi systems. The Greek-Catholic laymen belonged to the group, which is now often referred to as the people with traditional values, which were strongly rooted in western Ukraine, and particularly in Galicia [now composed of three local regions] and Zakarpattya (Transcarpathia). Some scholars even compared Galicia and its role in Ukraine to the Italian region of Piedmont with the latter's cultural influence on the rest of Italy.⁶²⁴ It indeed stands aside from the rest of Ukraine, but at the same time keeps a very big influence on it. The region was able to produce certain culture [the blend of many, due to its multicultural past], and is often identified with the Greek-Catholicism, unlike any other region in Ukraine. The major goal of this work, the survival of the Greek-Catholic Church, and the description of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and Cardinal [also known as Patriarch] Josyf Slipyj as the two most effective and prominent figures in its history, whose influence on the UGCC survival cannot be denied. A clear parallel with their activity and the organization which they were leading for many decades was analyzed in every chapter [particularly beginning with chapter 1] is clearly showing how and where this activity was highly successful. By the time of its legalization, the Church did not fall apart. In contrast, it could either totally disappear in Ukraine, turn into a small clerical organization, and after all, survive merely in diaspora. At the same time, it could split into many different factions, for example, the Ukrainian branch in the newly established Ukrainian state in 1991 and abroad, in Canada and the United States. A similar situation happened to the Orthodox Churches, which are clearly split in Ukraine, and also cannot find unity abroad.

The factor of the ecclesiastical unity was never questioned, religious groups in North America always felt that they are in one way or another belong to the Catholic community of Ukrainian descent and must somehow contribute to it. When the first immigration wave from Galicia began to move onto North America, Sheptytsky went there himself [described in Chapter 2] for a short visit to establish a better ecclesiastical organization over there. Possibly such actions were later 'paid off' when Ukraine was completely detached from the rest of the world by the Iron Curtain, and diaspora Catholics could assist the cause by retaining their religious tradition. Factually, it turned to be exactly this way, and not without the actions of Andrei Sheptytsky.

Many readers may think that both leaders of this Church in the XIX and XX centuries turned to be somewhat lucky, both could be killed or as in the case of J. Slipyj never return from the political imprisonment. To some degree this is true. Andrey Sheptytsky was born into a very prominent family with good connections and wealth, it definitely assisted him to rise through the ranks in the Church and relatively quickly [36 years old] lead the Greek-Catholic

⁶²⁴ Paul R. Magocsi, *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine's Piedmont*, (Toronto University Press, 2002).

Church in Galicia and abroad [were diaspora made its stay]. Josyf Slipyj met such a prominent figure as Sheptytsky and it turned his life in another direction. Possibly as anything in life, no matter how much work or character is being applied, still good fortune can make one rich or poor, successful in leading the Church in difficult times or just fail everything and perish without any memory left behind.

The survival of this Church was based on the socially conservative traditions mentioned above, and furthermore, the work of its hierarchs. Many of them have decided to go underground or continue their activity abroad, but in one way or another have believed in the cause to revive the UGCC. The work made the statement to underline the activity of two major figures that were thoroughly discussed throughout the study. The first was Andrey Sheptytsky, who had certainly brought this Church from the XIX into the XX century, made it stay together, and moreover, assisted in bringing it closer to the local people. His activities made it build better contacts and a more resilient structure to be able to withstand all the political turmoil of both World Wars. Josyf Slipyj on the other hand, was supposed to continue what was started by his predecessor, and practically managed to fulfill the task that was clearly given to him by Andrei Sheptytsky.

After reading this work it may become obvious that the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church could be not the only ecclesiastical organization that was mentioned along with the main topic. It was done to make a comparison, to show that the Soviet system was making remarkably similar actions to other Churches or organizations that did not correspond to the 'mainline' of the Communist policies. Often the UGCC was co-working with these other organizations, for example, with the Roman Catholic Church, particularly its Polish and Lithuanian clergy which was experiencing almost the same kind of repressions that included deportations, arrests, interrogations, etc. Josyf Slipyj's friendships with the Lithuanian priests during his incarceration was exactly the case of that co-operation and it was never forgotten by the leader of the UGCC later in his life in Rome. Estonian Protestants [mentioned in chapters eight and nine], who assisted the Greek-Catholic activists in sending reports to the West about the first's real condition in Ukraine was yet another example of this kind of mutual help. Chapter three tried to give comparisons with the Polish community in western Ukraine [after 1939] when it was deported in large numbers to Siberia or Kazakhstan, and how it was surviving in there, it was concentrating on showing the fact that not merely the Greek-Catholic Church was standing under the political fire, plus it showed the wider picture of the Stalinist regime. It gave the hint of solidarity with other ecclesiastical organizations, who were widely presented in Ukraine during the twentieth century and could not find their way out with just simply staying quiet.

Another interesting point may be drawn from the first chapter which was explaining the precursors of the UGCC, how it came to be in Ukraine and what was its theological, historical, and political base. Some may say that it was slightly detached from the main topic [it began a long time before the Soviet system came into existence], however, without understanding the grounding of the UGCC, its historical position, it would be impossible to understand all other developments that took place during the Soviet era. For this particular reason, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was shown from the beginning of his career to explain his role and accomplishments made by him before 1939, and the same was done with Metropolitan-Cardinal Josyf Slipyj. It could be very difficult to comprehend their activities during the Soviet or Nazi occupations without knowing what their background before these developments was.

Additionally, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church as it's known today was really formed by these two figures, perhaps it can even be said that without them it could simply cease to exist or at least not get preserved in today's form. Both of these hierarchs were discussed in connection to the Church's development and survival, and their biographies, activities, and accomplishments were mentioned all the time to support the main argument or show the fact that these personalities were inseparable from the UGCC. It was mentioned in the work that Andrei Sheptytsky gave the beginning to something that may be called the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church that exists today, he sort of provided it with another start, even though the organization itself was leading its beginnings from 988 [the Baptism of Rus' and Kyiv]. It was also important to provide the issue of when the UGCC began, without this understanding, it could be impossible to make any further explanation of its struggle in the twentieth century. The first chapter was specifically designed for that purpose and tried to clarify or distinguish the notion of when the Rus was baptized, and when the Union of Brest was signed [1596]. The signing of that agreement with the Pope was an important step and brought the word 'Catholic' into the whole tradition, but the Church in Kyiv and Galicia [or better to say modern Ukrainian territories] led its history from 988, and it remains an important factor in the UGCC today. Nevertheless, Ukraine right now, and Kyivan Rus' are quite different entities, but the local ecclesiastical tradition takes its root back in the past, and the storyline has begun in 988.

It was important to say that probably since the first Apostles, the Church needed strong leaders, the same is referred not only to the Orthodox or Catholic traditions, but to the Protestant denominations too. Strong organizer and passionate personality are often capable to set an example [moral value is particularly important], and even if left without any practical power is capable of controlling and gathering the faithful. A similar issue took place in the history of the Church which was studied in here. A much weaker in numbers and material resources organization could stand against much more powerful force and construct its position in a totally hostile environment. Both leaders of the UGCC, Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky and Cardinal J. Slipyj were exactly those figures, who could keep the Church in balance. They have preserved its ecclesiastical structure, so the Vatican or foreign powers could notice it and orient their relations with the legitimate Church representatives. On the other hand, the diaspora was having a legitimate ecclesiastical representation, and laity in the Soviet Union could rely its hopes and faith upon the fact that the Church exists for as long as its leaders exist.

Determination of the laymen, good leaders among the clergy, and foreign assistance, all made the UGCC survive. To some degree, it may be noticed that the role of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was similar to the role of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland during the Soviet era, with the only difference that the latter was not suppressed into the underground, but was not in favor of the government. Some parallels can also be drawn from the influential role of the RCC in Ireland.

The whole topic or the storytelling in this study was discussing the period of Nazi occupation, something that was not connected to the Soviet-UGCC struggle, however, merely on the first glance. First of all the period between 1941 and 1944 stands exactly in the middle of the main discussion and could not be left out, it turned to be in the center of it, and could not be separated from the main topic or question. It was especially important to explain what this Church did during those three and a half years, how it co-existed with the Nazi regime, what was its role [and the role of its leaders]. A lot of controversies usually arise from that period

claiming that the UGCC was collaborating with the Nazi occupation authorities and it required one separate chapter to discuss this issue with the maximum details. The study was trying to be objective by relating to what was going on without hiding facts or events that often may compromise the UGCC during that period, and additionally provided the defense of it, insisting on the fact that it was not the goal for this organization to collaborate with the Nazis. Examples of Andrei Sheptytsky ["Thou Shalt not Kill" pastoral letter] and other clergymen, who saved Jews and warned the Nazi government of atrocities that were taking place during that time in Ukraine. For this reason, the following chapters explained the position of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj [interrogation reports taken from the KGB archives, including his memoirs, and other sources] toward this question because he was directly accused in such collaboration by the Soviet prosecutors. This accusation was often used to prosecute the UGCC in the future years, thus, the Nazi occupation period was intricately important to discuss and analyze. Class theory and racial theory, Stalinism and Hitlerism, two inhumane and violent systems. Technically Ukraine as much of the Central-Eastern Europe [those parts that were later integrated with the Warsaw Pact] turned to be in the middle of two horrible regimes, and because of that was supposed to maneuver, search for the various ways of survival, but in this particular case, it was important to try to explain that the Greek-Catholic tradition was not intended to co-exist with the fascist system during the WWII. Those individuals among the laity or clergy, who could do that, often because they disliked Communism due to the first Soviet occupation makes them totally responsible for all attempts to collaborate and for evil deeds, were not reflecting the official position of the Vatican or the Greek-Catholic Metropolitanate in Lviv. It was solely crucial to show that Andrei Sheptytsky nor his successor Josyf Slipyj did not plan to co-exist with any dictatorship because it was against their moral character. Neither regime had plans to let this Church remain intact due to its nature of being in the middle of all social issues. In other words, the UGCC or any other religious organization in Ukraine or anywhere else in the world may quickly stand on the way of the authoritarian system or become its part. In the given case, it did not happen, even if it did take place with some priests, the organization itself wanted to refuse any occupational influence. Both hierarchs made it possible and as they say in modern language, made the job done. It was noticed in Josyf Slipyj's memoirs in chapter three that he was not in favor to present himself (and warned others) at the official gatherings or meetings during the Nazi occupation of western Ukraine. Sadly, it means that some did participate in such gatherings, and Slipyj stood against such actions [discussed in chapter 4 in this work]. Andrei Sheptytsky's letters to Berlin about the total unfairness of the occupation were mentioned, including his thoughts that he was expressing to the Vatican, and in them, he believed that Nazism is the worst thing that could ever exist. His saving of the Jews and good relations with the Rabbi Kahane's family were important to discuss as well in order to give a wider picture.

The Soviet occupation(s) [the way it seen particularly in the Galician region] were standing on two sides to the Nazi occupation, they were interconnected with each other, thus, were discussed using the historical timeline, one came after another, the first influenced the second, second went into the third etc. It should be separately noted in the conclusion that the Soviet army did liberate Auschwitz, and soldiers, not NKVD, who did it should go into history, the soldiers did crash Nazism. It could have been even better if they had a chance to also liberate Kolyma and other GULAG camps. In chapter four it was noted that Metropolitan Sheptytsky

was understanding an immediate danger of Nazism, and on the other hand, Communist class ideology, which according to him could have fallen in time, and one had to wait.

The nature of the Council of Lviv in 1946 was important for the future faith of the UGCC, it really determined the legal ways through, which the regime would prefer to liquidate the organization. Merge with the Russian Orthodox Church was used as a method, and the ROC as an instrument to carry out the mission of destruction of the UGCC, and that was necessary to clarify. At the same time the neutrality should be kept in the discussion all the time, so it was underlined that the ROC was not acting independently and there were no direct accusations against the Russian Orthodox Church as an organization [or the Christian denomination]. This Church went through the same horrific grinder of the Soviet system before the WWII, and what was left of it turned into the Stalin's puppet in order to manipulate his interests in the USSR and worldwide. The Council was not intended by the ROC because it had no independence of its own, all decisions were made by the officials, who set in Kremlin.

This work was planning to explain the survival of the ecclesiastical organization under the pressure of the militantly atheistic state, foreign occupation, racial Nazi system, which had a goal of destroying religions and the faith in God itself, or at least faith in a good God, positive and constructive Grand Architect of the Universe, who doesn't hate other people due to their skin color, language or personal belief. Neither Metropolitan Sheptytsky nor Josyf Slipyj did not collaborate and did not do what, for example, Pierre Laval did in the Vichy France. The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was standing in the way of all the plans that were set by the Communist government, Nazi Koch administration, and eventually achieved the prevalence over those regimes. Freedom and legalization of the UGCC, and the establishment of the establishment of its ecclesiastical, legitimate structure in 1989 came true, eventually fulfilling the goal of the Greek-Catholic laymen and clergy, particularly its key leaders in the 20th century, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and his successor Cardinal Josyf Slipyj.

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